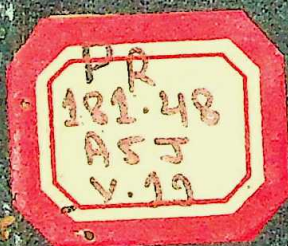


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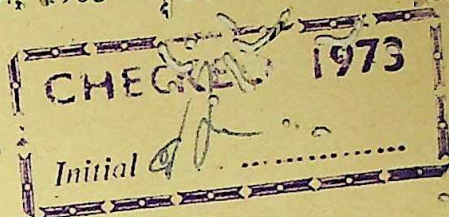
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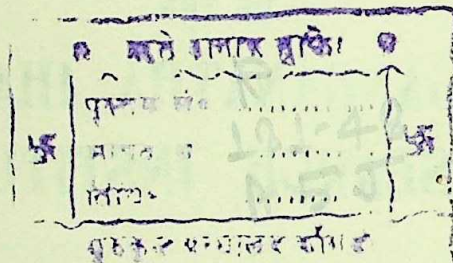
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पुस्तकालय  
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## JOURNAL

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[ Parts 1—4

SPHOTA

By PROF. A. L. HERMAN\*

## INTRODUCTION

AMONG the many perpetual problems which bother philosophers in both the East and West, problems such as those connected with free will, perception, the existence of God, and the like, is the problem of how individual words (or letters) combine to give meaning to a sentence (or a word). For how can distinct entities like words or letters, each with their separate meanings, unite to give a new meaning, wholly different from what was present in the disparate units individually? In other words, how does one explain that the whole (the sentence or the word) is not just the epistemological sum of the parts (the words or the letters composing the sentence or the word respectively)? One Western author notes the difficulty of the problem, but doesn't stay for an answer :

No attempt has been made here to deal with one of the most difficult problems that meaning-theory includes—that of explaining how separate words, each one with its own meaning, can combine to yield sentence-meanings.<sup>1</sup>

\* Harvard University.

<sup>1</sup> Charles L. Stevenson, *Ethics and Language*, p. 67.



Indian philosophers not only asked the question but spent about a thousand years trying to find an answer, and even today, judging by the modern commentaries on that period (from Patañjali to the later Naiyāyikas), the issue is still being raised and knocked about.

One of the answers to this perpetual problem is found in the so-called 'theory of *Sphoṭa*'. It will be the task of this paper to show in what way the problem of meaning, described briefly above, was answered by the *Sphoṭa* theorists, and attacked in turn by philosophers opposed to the solution offered by the *Sphoṭa* doctrine. In particular, the paper aims to show what might be called "decisive" arguments presented against the theory by the Mīmāṃsakas, and the use of these arguments by Śaṅkara in his commentaries on the *Brahma-Sūtra* I. 3.28. Just how "decisive" these arguments are may depend more on the predilections of the reader than on the content of the arguments themselves.

The plan of the paper is this : Part I will be a 1. description of the problem that the *Sphoṭa* theory attempted to solve, together with a brief sketch of the two groups of philosophers interested in the theory, 2. the Grammarians or "pro-Sphoṭists", and 3. the Mīmāṃsakas or "anti-Sphoṭists". Part II will be an attempt to discover where Śaṅkara himself stood on the issues raised in Part I with regard to the *Sphoṭa* theory, and in particular to determine whether he was an "anti-Sphoṭist" (as has been argued), and in what particular sense. I will conclude part II with a brief comparison between the arguments of the Grammarians and the position taken by Śaṅkara.

#### PART I

1. In this section, I will discuss the problem that the *Sphoṭa* theory was trying to solve. (Throughout, I will speak of the problem in regard to words and letters of



words, remembering that what can be said of them can be said of sentences, and words composing sentences). That problem, essentially, was this : How can I perceive the whole meaning of a word like "animal" when the individual syllables of the word, "an", "i", "mal" are uttered over a particular span of time?<sup>2</sup> ; that is to say, "how, from the diversity of letters and words, can a unit of meaning come into being ?"<sup>3</sup>. The problem becomes one of trying to get from the letters of a word to the meaning of a word. The meaning of the word "animal" can't be found in the separate syllables of the word, taken individually, so where is it? In this manner of speaking, "meaning" becomes an entity, a thing to be grasped by the mind ; but a thing whose existence cannot be explained on the basis of the sounds of the letter-syllables alone.<sup>4</sup> The problem, then, is essentially, how to make the leap from sounds to meaning?

2. The Grammarians were probably the first persons in India who "solved" this problem of meaning by resorting to the theory of Sphota.

"The Grammarians contend that the meaning that is comprehended from a particular word is not due to the momentary letters that go to its formation but it is generated by the internal and

<sup>2</sup> D. M. Datta, *The Six Ways of Knowing*, p. 248.

<sup>3</sup> "Le Tattvabindu de Vacaspatimisra", par Madeleine Biardeau in *Publications de L'institut Francais D'Indologie* No. 3. p. XIX.

<sup>4</sup> The Indians were inclined to hold the problem down to uttered or spoken words or letters. That the same problem exists for words and letters as read silently, could be argued on the basis of the intimate relation which obtains between thought (reading silently is like thinking) and speech :

The product grows with the instrument, and thought may be no more conceivable, in its genesis and daily practice, without speech than is mathematical reasoning practicable without the level of an appropriate symbolism (Edward Sapir, *Language*, p. 14.)



indivisible Word Essence (sphoṭa) which is alone significant"<sup>5</sup>.

The Grammarians contended that the meaning couldn't exist in the letters of the word, either individually or collectively. For 2a. if the meaning could come from the individual letters, then it could just as well come from the first as the last alone, but this is patently impossible; and 2b. one cannot argue that the meaning comes from the whole word, because the parts, (letters) making up the whole word vanish as soon as they are uttered, making it impossible for the mind to hold on to that whole<sup>6</sup>. That is to say, when I utter "i" in "animal", the "an" has already vanished, and by the time I utter "mal", both "an" and "i" are lost, so how can I ever have a whole word from which to derive my meaning? The same argument, 2a and 2b, could also be used, however, to attack the *Sphoṭa* theorists, for if this form of argument is sound, then it can serve equally well to attack the leap from sound to *Sphoṭa*, as from sound-of-letters to meaning-of-word. But this is to get ahead of the argument we are outlining.

Patañjali, one of the early Grammarians, contended that words were evanescent and ephemeral (2b), and that (2c) *Sphoṭa* was eternal. Grammar, which studies meanings manifested by sound, and which comes to regard meanings as eternal, develops into a kind of theology, for if *Sphoṭa* is eternal, then speculating on *Sphoṭa* is similar to speculat-

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<sup>5</sup> "Constitution of Words : Sphoṭa Theory and Its Opponents," by B. Bhattacharya in *Our Heritage*. 4, 1956. p. 218.

H. T. Colebrooke says essentially the same thing :

Grammarians assume a special category, denominated sphoṭa, for the object of mental perception, which ensues upon the hearing of an articulate sound, and which they consider to be distinct from the elements or component letters of the word.

—(*Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. p. 331. fn. 2.

<sup>6</sup> cf. Surendranath Dasgupta, *The Study of Patañjali*, Appendix I. (esp. pp. 192-193).



ing on Brahman. Most commentators seem to feel that Patañjali had, indeed, practised a theology of grammar.<sup>7</sup>

It is curious to note that the attributes whereby he usually characterized *śabda*, or more properly *Sphoṭa*, are exactly those that are often attributed to Brahman.<sup>8</sup>

It is even argued that the Grammarians held that *Sphoṭa* was identical with Brahman<sup>8</sup>. Thus B. Bhattacharya states :

The ultimate truth according to the Grammarians is *śabda-brahman*, the *sphoṭa par excellance* out of which all cognizable phenomena evolve, and in which they finally merge<sup>9</sup>.

Just how far Patañjali himself became involved with *Sphoṭa* theory seems to be a matter of debate<sup>10</sup>, but for our purposes, it is sufficient to point out that as one of the first of the Grammarians, he held to the principles stated above, viz., 2b, words and letters are ephemeral, and 2c, *Sphoṭa* is eternal.

Another "pro-*Sphoṭa*" philosopher (or "Grammarians-theologian", if the above account is correct) holding to the eternality of *Sphoṭa* was Bhartṛhari who argued 2d., that the "sound" itself (*śabda*) was indeed Brahman :

This *śabda*, the sonant substratum or the essence of speech which is equated with Brahman, is devoid of both beginning and end and manifests itself in the phenomenal world . . . . ."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Prabhat Chandra Chakravarti, *The Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 96.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. Cit.* p. 224.

<sup>10</sup> Thus compare D. M. Datta's remark on *Sphoṭa*, "It was hinted at by Patañjali. . . .", (*Op. Cit.* p. 250), with remarks made by S. Dasgupta (*Op. Cit.* p. 193) and Prabhat Chandra Chakravarti (*Op. Cit.* p. 84f.).

<sup>11</sup> quoted in "*The Doctrine of Sphoṭa*" by V. A. Rāmaswāmī Sastrī in *Journal of the Annamalai University* Vol. I. No. 2, 1932. p. 236.



Rāmaswami Śāstrī comments that there are two meanings of "śabda", or two conceptions of it: one sees *śabda* (1) as *dhvani* or *varṇa* which manifests the real "sound", or *sphoṭa*, *śabda* (2), but which is itself perishable. It is *śabda* (2) as *sphoṭa*, that Bhartṛhari is referring to in the above quotation. Other commentators would seem to concur that Bhartṛhari held 2d, i.e., that *sphoṭa* or *śabda* (2) was identical with Brahman.

Bhartṛhari was the first author to elaborate the doctrine of *sphoṭa* and to identify *sphoṭa* with the Vedānta Brahman.<sup>12</sup>

A pro-Sphoṭa philosopher, if we could reconstruct such a person from the above commentaries, would seem to hold to these four principles: 2a. the meaning of a word cannot come from the letters individually, or 2b. collectively because letters and words are ephemeral; but 2c. the meaning resides in Sphoṭa which is eternal and 2d. identical with Brahman.

3. The Mīmāṃsakas are the outstanding refutants of the Sphoṭa-theory (along with the Sāṅkhyas and the Naiyāyikas)<sup>13</sup>. I will concentrate on the arguments of the Mīmāṃsakas against the pro-Sphoṭa theorists. The Mīmāṃsakas would deny 2a and 2b: Words are not ephemeral and changing, but eternal and permanent. In denying the Grammarian's arguments 2a and 2b, the Mīmāṃsakas were upholding their doctrine of the permanency of the words of the Veda. The outstanding representative of this anti-

<sup>12</sup> Kaṇḍa Bhaṭṭa on the Meaning of Sanskrit Verbs by Shivam Dattatray Joshi Doctoral Thesis. Harvard University, June 1960. p. XXV.

<sup>13</sup> "The Sāṅkhya Sūtra (5.57) distinctly rejects *Sphoṭa* as practically incomprehensible" (Prabhat Chandra Chakravarti, *Op. Cit.* p. 112).

"The Naiyāyikas and Mīmāṃsakas are agreed in their denial of the metaphysical reality called *Sphoṭa*, which according to the Grammarians possesses the capacity for revealing meanings" (B. Bhattacharya, *Op. Cit.* p. 218).



Sphoṭa doctrine of the Mīmāṃsakas was Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, who held to an extreme form of epistemological realism, which later Mīmāṃsakas also maintained.<sup>14</sup> Kumārila argued 3a. that letters or words are eternally real entities in themselves, and 3b. meaning resides in these real things; to deny either of these contentions is to deny that words have validity, which is to say, "that all actions depending on them also come to lose their validity".<sup>15</sup> Since the Mīmāṃsakas were ritualists and literalists; *vis a vis* the Vedas, to accept *Sphoṭa*, as presented by the Grammarians, would be to give up the validity of action enjoined by the words in the Vedas :

The main thesis of the Mīmāṃsaka is that what the Veda says must be true, never false, because it is not dependent upon a speaker or personal author-being as independent and eternal as the Word and its Denotation ; and the cognition or knowledge derived from the Veda must be true because it is provided by the Sentence<sup>16</sup>.

As a consequence of this urgency to uphold Vedic literalness, Kumārila came to hold : " Words are eternal (3a), what is denoted by them is eternal (3b), the relation between these is eternal<sup>17</sup>" ; I have called this "*extreme epistemological realism*" because of the ontological status of words, their denotata, and the relations connecting these

<sup>14</sup> Perhaps he was not as successful a persuader with his immediate disciples. One of these, Maṇḍana Miśra, broke away from his master's teaching to espouse a pro-Sphoṭa doctrine. A contemporary of Śaṅkara, he attacked that author, too, and adopted many of the pro-Sphoṭa arguments of Bhartṛhari. As Madeleine Biardeau says, "He [Maṇḍana] clings to the 'sounding' nature of the absolute." (*Op. Cit.* XXI). Another commentator states :

"The Finally Established View is that Letters as well as Words are Eternal." (Sir Ganganatha Jha, *Op. Cit.* p. 177, where he connects this view with Kumārila).

<sup>15</sup> S. Dasgupta, *The Study of Patañjali* p. 195.

<sup>16</sup> *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā In Its Sources*, by Dr. Sir G. Jha. pp. 148, 149.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* p. 151.



two entities. Since the Mīmāṃsakas had denied a personal God, the validity of the Vedas cannot lie in such a deity. The Vedas, consequently, must become the source of their own authority if they are to be valid, hence the need to maintain the eternality of letters or words (3a).

The Mīmāṃsakas, then, would seem to deny 2a, 2b, and 2c, and by implication 2d, for if there is no *Sphoṭa* beyond the words and letters, that non-existent entity couldn't be Brahman; they would assert 3a, that letters and words are eternal, as also are the meanings of those words (3b), for if words or letters are permanent, then an aggregate is possible (denial of 2a and 2b) and meaning, residing in the words, can be obtained (denial of 2c). The specific arguments against the Grammarians on these points will be discussed in Part II, where I will consider the *Sphoṭa* theory as taken up by Śaṅkara. In that section, Śaṅkara uses the argumants of Upavarṣa, who was also an authority for the later Mīmāṃsakas <sup>8</sup>.

In conclusion to Part I I will assume as a definition of "anti-Sphoṭa philosopher", anyone who holds to 3a and 3b, and in addition (though this is implied), denies the contentions of the pro-Sphoṭists, 2a, 2b, 2c, and 2d <sup>9</sup>. This

<sup>18</sup> "Having taken a purely physical view of Śabda, the Mīmāṃsakas, like Śaṅkara turned to the old theory of the revered teacher Upavarṣa and accordingly identified Śabda with letters"; Upavarṣa argued that to assume Sphoṭa as apart from letters 'was opposed to cognition and experience' (Prabhat Chandra Chakravarti, *Op. Cit.* p. 114).

<sup>19</sup> It may not be amiss to list the pro-Sphoṭists and anti-Sphoṭists :

*Pro-Sphoṭists*

Yāska  
Patañjali  
Later Grammarians  
Bhartṛhari  
Maṇḍana Miśra

*Anti-Sphoṭists*

Upavarṣa  
Sāṅkhyas  
Kumārila Bhaṭṭa  
Vācaspati I  
Śaṅkara  
Naiyāyikas

a 1. Sphoṭa was first mentioned by Yāska in his *Nirukta*; he held the position that words are permanent entities (B. Bhaṭṭacharya, *Op. Cit.* p. 218).



sketch of the pro-Sphoṭa and the anti-Sphoṭa philosophers is admittedly brief, and being brief, much of historical significance has been left out. My purpose, however, has been merely to define the two possible attitudes towards *Sphoṭa* (pro and anti-Sphoṭism, as it were) in order to get on to what I believe is a more interesting and worthwhile task, viz., that of discovering where Śaṅkara himself fits into the two categories here defined.

## PART II

In his commentary on the *Brahma-Sūtra* I. 3.28, Śaṅkara has caused some confusion by his use of the arguments of Upavarṣa, the Mīmāṃsaka, against the pro-Sphoṭa Grammarians. I might briefly mention (1) what this confusion is, and then (2) point out the interpretations that have been made by other commentators in regard to Śaṅkara's own stand on the *Sphoṭa* theory, and (3) conclude with my own analysis and observations of his arguments.

(1) The problem, it seems to me, is to try and find out if Śaṅkara is a pro-Sphoṭa philosopher, or an anti-Sphoṭa philosopher (as these notions were defined in Part I); does he side with the Grammarians or the Mīmāṃsakas on the *Sphoṭa* issue? The answer to the question, it would seem, must lie in his commentary on the *Brahma-Sūtras*.<sup>20</sup> But that commentary is strangely elliptical. Śaṅkara makes use of the arguments of an anti-Sphoṭa philosopher (Upavarṣa), but that philosopher is a Mīmāṃsaka, and everyone knows that Śaṅkara had little truck with Mīmāṃsaka philosophy. Another cause of the ellipsis might well be in the conclusion to his arguments in the commentary where he may be clear about his stand with the anti-Sphoṭists, in so far as they denied 2a, 2b, 2c, and 2d, but he is not at all clear in how he stands in regard to

<sup>20</sup> I. 3.28.



3a, the eternality of the words and letters. That is to say, Śaṅkara may seem clear in what he denies, but he is not clear in what he asserts. My purpose in dealing with this commentary will be primarily that of clearing up the confusion regarding what it was that he was asserting.

(2) The interpretations offered of Śaṅkara's commentary run, it seems to me, to three levels.

*Level one* : Commentators who believe that Śaṅkara held that *Spṛṣṭa* exists (2c). H. T. Colebrooke states :

Śaṅkara first shows that the cognition of a word's meaning cannot be produced by its first letter (as this might lead astray), nor by the totality of letters (as they are not contemporaneous); neither can it be produced by the last letter aided by the impressions left by former ones, as these impressions cannot be proved either by sense-evidence or by inference. Hence we must concede the existence of *spṛṣṭa*, which he explains as a something which suddenly makes itself manifest to the mind after it has received the seed of the impressions produced by the several letters as they are apprehended, and ripens under the influence of the final letter. It appears as the object of one complete cognition<sup>21</sup>.

Colebrooke's interpretations, as we shall see, is the most extreme of the possible renditions of Śaṅkara's commentary. Arguments of Level one hold, then, that Śaṅkara would accept 2a, 2b, and some form of 2c, for Colebrooke does not say that Śaṅkara held to the eternality of *Spṛṣṭa*, but only to its existence.

*Level two* : Commentators who believe that Śaṅkara denied that *Spṛṣṭa* exists (—2c), but that he maintained that letters and words are eternal (3a). Thus Madeleine Biardeau argues :

Śaṅkara refutes the Grammarians, *Spṛṣṭavāda* (—2c) by resorting to the eternality and infinity of letters as conceived by *Mīmāṃsā*<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> *Op. Cit.* p. 373, fn. 1.

<sup>22</sup> *Op. Cit.* p. XXI.



Biardeau argues that Śaṅkara sides with Upavaṛṣa in denying *Sphoṭa* (thus contradicting interpretations in *level one*). She concludes:

And so, though Śaṅkara called for the help of Upavaṛṣa and Śabara in the refutation of *Sphoṭa*, he takes Kumārila's side when he comes to the question of the kind of reality denoted by speech.<sup>23</sup>

Arguments of *Level two* hold, then, that Śaṅkara would deny 2a and accept 3a.

*Level three*: Commentators who would hold that Śaṅkara denied, both that *Sphoṭa* exists (—2c), and that letters and words are eternal (—3a). I know of no philosopher who has strictly held to this level of interpretation, but S. Radhakrishnan gives the flavor of this objection when he says :

Ś. opposes the views (note plural) of Upavaṛṣa, the Mīmāṃsaka, according to whom the word is nothing but the aggregate of the letters which constitute it, as well as the view of the grammarians who teach . . . . . a supersensuous entity called *Sphoṭa*<sup>24</sup>.

I admit that this is not as clear a denial of 3a as I would like to have for *Level three* (for the sake of including all possible logical alternatives, if for no other reason), for Biardeau also admits that Śaṅkara rejected the aid of Upavaṛṣa when he discussed the "reality denoted by speech." I realize, then, that I am perhaps misusing Radhakrishnan when I include him in this category. However this may be, arguments of *Level three* would contradict the arguments of *Level two* and *Level one*, by holding that *Sphoṭa* does not exist (as *Sphoṭa* is defined by the Grammarians), nor are words eternal, i.e., they assert —2c and —3a.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. XXVIII.

<sup>24</sup> *The Brahma Sūtra*, p. 301.



I might summarize the results of these three interpretations of Śaṅkara's commentary as follows :

TABLE I

| Arguments:           | 2a      | 2b      | 2c      | 3a      |
|----------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| <i>Level one</i> :   | asserts | asserts | asserts |         |
| <i>Level two</i> :   |         |         | denies  | asserts |
| <i>Level three</i> : |         |         | denies  | denies  |

(3) Where does Śaṅkara stand with respect to these three levels? If I can interpret the assertions or denials of each level as a conjunction of arguments, then it is logically impossible that any two of these levels together could give us a true picture of Śaṅkara's own theory with regard to *Sphoṭa*; that is to say, *Level one* (2a and 2b and 2c) is contradicted by *Level two* (-2c and 3a) which in turn is contradicted by *Level three* (-2c and -3a) which also contradicts *Level one*. Indeed, none of the arguments represented by the three levels may be true. Now, if it can be shown that at least one of the arguments in each level is false, the conjunction itself is false. The method of procedure here will be to take an argument from one of the levels in Table I, and then show how the argument is denied by Śaṅkara (or asserted by him) in *B. S. I.* 3.28. I begin with *Level one* :

*Level one* : 2c is the assertion that the meaning of a word resides in *Sphoṭa*. Śaṅkara's *B. S.* commentary,<sup>25</sup> should leave no doubt in anyone's mind that he is throughout rejecting the *Sphoṭa* theory : For example, by referring to Upavarṣa as "reverend Upavarṣa", from whom he quotes (copiously) in refutation of the *pūrvapakṣin*, i.e., the Grammarian.<sup>26</sup> In another instance in referring to *Sphoṭa* he says,

<sup>25</sup> *The Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXXIV, trans. by George Thibaut, pp. 201—211.

<sup>26</sup> pp. 204 fn. 1, and 206.



"The assumption of the sphoṭa is further gratuitous . . . .<sup>27</sup>, a remark hardly possible for one who is said to be holding to a *Sphoṭa* theory. Of the Grammarians' argument that *Sphoṭa* is beyond the words he says :

If that cognitional act had for its object the sphoṭa—i.e., something different from the letters of the given word—then those letters would be excluded from it just as much as the letters of any other word. But as this is not the case . . . .<sup>28</sup> and concludes :

This hypothesis (that the buddhi comprehends the aggregate of letters after apprehending the several letters) is certainly simpler than the complicated hypothesis of the grammarians who teach that the sphoṭa is the word . . . . for they have . . . . something which is never perceived.<sup>29</sup>

Since 2c is obviously false, we dismiss the argument of *Level one* as a possible interpretation of Śaṅkara's views on *Sphoṭa*.

*Level two* : 3a is the assertion that letters or words are eternal. In *B. S. I.* 3.28, Śaṅkara divides his discussion of 3a into two distinct parts: He considers the matter of the word first,<sup>30</sup> and next considers the case for letters.<sup>31</sup> In considering the question of whether both words and letters are eternal, I will reverse the order of that discussion by taking up the issue of the letters' eternality first, and then turn to the issue of the eternality of the word last. In denying *Sphoṭa* Śaṅkara maintains, with Upavarṣa, that the letters of a word are recognized as the same letters

<sup>27</sup> p. 209.

<sup>28</sup> p. 209.

<sup>29</sup> p. 210, parentheses mine.

<sup>30</sup> pp. 201—206.

<sup>31</sup> pp. 206—211.



each time they are produced anew,<sup>32</sup> and denies 2c, the contention that 'letters are no sooner produced than they pass away', (thus he also by implication denies 2a and 2b). The question to be posed now is, What is the ontological status of those letters?, and more specifically, How do we come to recognize these letters as the same? It will be recalled that the Grammarians had argued strenuously that letters making up a word are ephemeral.<sup>33</sup> And if letters are ephemeral, then their apparent sameness must be accounted for in some way or other, i.e., yesterday's 'a' looks like today's 'a', but if letters are for ever changing and not permanent, it can't be the same 'a'. The Grammarians attempt to account for the recognized-sameness of the words with two theories, and Śaṅkara combats these two theories and plumps for his own position, i.e., the eternality of the *letters* (part of the argument for 3a). Thus two accounts for the letters' sameness are tentatively offered:

- (1) The cognition of sameness is due to a *similarity* between letters at time  $T_1$  and time  $T_n$ . Śaṅkara dismisses this by arguing that the recognition between similar objects is not what we mean by recognition, "in a strict sense", over a span of time:

Nor can it be maintained that the recognition is due to similarity only, as in the case of hairs, for instance; for the fact of the recognition being a recognition in the strict sense of the word is not contradicted by any other means of proof,<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> p. 206.

<sup>33</sup> 2b, *supra* p. 4.

<sup>34</sup> p. 206.



Now this is a curious argument. Śaṅkara is using "recognition" in a special, i.e., "strict" sense. Why? The reason could be that letters are not like hairs. In other words, the object of cognition calls forth a special sort of cognitional apparatus, because it, the object, is a very special kind of entity. How special? in what way? Śaṅkara doesn't say.

- (2) The cognition of sameness is due to the fact that it is not the individual letters that are cognized as same, but rather that the *species* are identical. Thus, 'a' at  $T_1$  is the same as 'a' at  $T_n$  because they both belong to 'a-ness' and on hearing 'a' at  $T_n$ , in virtue of its belonging to the same species as other letters (a's) heard before, I can easily identify it as the same as the previously heard 'a'. Śaṅkara at first denies this, but his denial bothers him, for while the denial of (1) was swift and sure, he puzzles over (2) for another three pages.<sup>35</sup> He further states the position of (2) by arguing that recognition of sameness could then be asserted only if several different letters (e.g. different a's) were indeed apprehended at

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<sup>35</sup> On p. 210, Śaṅkara seems to deny what he has been arguing against here :

Or let it even be admitted that the letters are different ones each time they are pronounced; yet as in that case we necessarily must assume species of letters as the basis of the recognition of the individual letters, the function of conveying the sense which we have demonstrated in the case of the (individual) letters has then to be attributed to the species.

I formerly spoke (p. 8, part I) of the difficulties of interpretation of this particular commentary, and passages like this, which seem to set aside the entire previous arguments regarding the denial of a sameness among letters being due to a common species for all letters, such passages serve only to deepen the confusions.



$T_1$  and  $T_n$  when they were pronounced. He denies, of course, that the letters are ever really different, and states that "the (same) individual letters are recognized as often as they are pronounced"<sup>36</sup>. The apparent differences in the letters are caused by the differences in pronunciation and tone of the speaker :

... those differences are rightly ascribed to the various character of the articulating agents and not to the intrinsic nature of the letters themselves.<sup>37</sup> Strictly speaking, this is not an 'argument' that Śaṅkara is offering here, but rather a pronouncement or reiteration of his denial that letters are ephemeral. That is to say, against contention (2) all that Śaṅkara is able to muster is a restatement of his position 3a. He doesn't argue for it; his attitude seems to be that of a legislator rather than a philosopher. The approach is not dissimilar from that to (1) where again he seems to be merely restating his presupposition about the specialness of letters. I asked, "Why are letters different from hairs", I suspect he would answer, "Well, they just are, that's all, they just are :"; just as in (1) where he falls back on the notion of *strict* sense of cognition, so in (2) he falls back on the notion of "intrinsic nature" of the letters. Both seem equally obscure as good reasons for an argument, and both seem to me to be obvious plays to cover up a legislating, rather than a well reasoned argument.

More than three times Śaṅkara uses the expression "intrinsic nature of the letters"; further, these letters are

<sup>36</sup> p. 207.

<sup>37</sup> p. 207.



distinct from the pronunciation<sup>38</sup> and the tone.<sup>39</sup> Now, since Śaṅkara is not referring to written letters at all, and since the letters he has in mind aren't spoken letters, (How can one speak without tone or pronunciation of some sort?), What kind of letters are they? He might reply, 'They are entities with a special kind of intrinsic nature, cognized (from 1) in a very special kind of way'; but again this does not indicate what those entities are. That is to say, I wonder how he's using the concept "letter" since it is certainly not the kind of thing I would call a "letter". The obvious answer, of course, is that it is eternal, and this is the reason for the odd use of "letter". But again this is no argument, merely a stipulation about the use of a certain term. Śaṅkara's denial of both (1) and (2) rests on no more and no less than a repeated assertion of the special-ness of these letters i.e., by an appeal to their "intrinsic nature". On the basis, then, of this kind of "argument" from the letters, I will assume that 3a, (with regard to "letters" alone) as a conclusion, cannot be drawn.

The matter is not at all different in regard to words. Śaṅkara "argues" from Scripture that the word preceded the Creation, and is everlasting and eternal:

For from that very same word of the Veda the world, with the gods and other beings originates.<sup>40</sup>

These two (Scripture and Smṛti) declare that creation is preceded by the word.<sup>41</sup>

Not only is the word eternal, but the *connection* between the word and what it denotes is also eternal,

.... we observe the eternity of the connexion between such words as cow, and so on, and the things denoted by them.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>38</sup> p. 207.

<sup>39</sup> p. 208.

<sup>40</sup> p. 202.

<sup>41</sup> p. 203.

<sup>42</sup> p. 202.

F. 3.



and it is "with the species that the words are connected not with the individuals . . ." <sup>43</sup> and "the species are eternal". So three "eternal" entities exist : the *word* of the Veda, the *species* denoted by the word, and the *connection* between them.

On this basis 3a can be asserted, for grounds now exist for arguing that the letters, too, are eternal ; that is to say, if Śaṅkara 'believes' (perhaps 'argues', in a very weak sense of that word, since most of his remarks are based on Scripture) that words, the words of the Veda, are eternal, then it perhaps follows that the letters of the words are eternal : Assuming that what is true of the whole, in this instance, must be true of the parts. Thus it would seem that *level two* contains the kinds of statements Śaṅkara would make. This means if Śaṅkara is to be consistent in his views about the Oneness of the Real, he must hold that, at the very least, the word is Brahman (and at the very most, that the denoted species and the connector must also be identical to Brahman).

If *Level two* does indeed state Śaṅkara's position with regard to *Spṛṣṭa* and the eternality of words, no more need be said of *Level three* ; however weak, as an argument Śaṅkara's assertion of 3a might be, it seems to be what he was holding, and thus *Level three*, with its denial of 3a, must be incorrect as an interpretation of Śaṅkara's position in regard to *Spṛṣṭa* theory. 3a stands on two assumptions, which, if true, would then substantiate Śaṅkara's position. One assumption would be that scripture is a reliable source of truth ; and the second assumption would be that what is true of the whole, in respect to eternalness, must be true of the parts. I don't wish to discuss these assumptions. My purpose has been simply to show where Śaṅkara stood in regard to *Spṛṣṭa* theory, and that has been demonstrated

<sup>43</sup> p. 202.



with respect to *Level two*, i.e., Śaṅkara holds to a denial of 2c and an acceptance of 3a, and can, consequently, be classified with the anti-Sphoṭa philosophers.

### CONCLUSION

My purpose throughout this paper has been to distinguish the respective approaches to *Sphoṭa* theory (Part I), and to state Śaṅkara's position in regard to that theory (Part II). Śaṅkara's position is not unlike that of Kumā-rila<sup>44</sup>, since he comes to hold an extreme epistemological realism (words, their denotata (species), and their connectors) are eternal, and therefore ultimately real (thus, in addition to holding 3a, he also holds to 3b, i.e., denotata are real). If I had added two more categories (which seemed superfluous at the time), it could be stated that Śaṅkara also held: 3c, i.e. the connectors between words and their denotata are real<sup>45</sup> where Śaṅkara argues for this as does Kumā-rila; and further, 3d. Words, denotata and their connectors are Brahman. 3d follows from Śaṅkara's *advaitism* and the assumption that only Brahman is ultimately real. I pass up speculation on 3d, since it doesn't relate to the problems the paper is concerned with. One remark should be made; if Śaṅkara gave up *Sphoṭa* because of any fears that *Sphoṭa* would be identified with Brahman (2d), then I should imagine that his fears would have been multiplied three-fold by espousing 3d.

While Śaṅkara, like the Mīmāṃsakas, saves the literal word of the Veda from the Grammarians' *Sphoṭa* theory, it seems to me that in the end, Śaṅkara's position wasn't much different from the Grammarians'. Both ended with permanent meaning of some sort (*Sphoṭa* as against the word, denotata and connector), both began with ephemeral and

<sup>44</sup> *supra* P. 7.

<sup>45</sup> *supra* p. 18.



impermanent entities (the words and letters for the Sphoṭa-  
vādin, and differences due to pronunciation and tone for  
Śaṅkara, which, it seems to me, make, "letters", in some  
sense, not ontologically distinct from the Grammarians'  
letters). The Grammarians' arguments are more appealing  
philosophically, based as they are on common experience  
of sounds relating to memory, (still a problem today  
when related to meaning<sup>46</sup> and the phenomenologists  
like Brentano and Husserl thought it quite important),  
while Śaṅkara comes out second best as a philosopher,  
as I have tried to show, legislating in place of arguing.

I stated at the outset, that the "decisiveness" of these  
reasons might depend more on the predilections of the  
reader than on the content of the arguments themselves<sup>47</sup>.  
If "decisiveness" of argumentation implies, as it frequently  
does, the appeal of arguments, then the Grammarians'  
arguments, I suppose, would be more philosophically deci-  
sive, and Śaṅkara's perhaps, theologically decisive. For this  
reason, it is indeed strange that *Sphoṭa* hasn't received more  
attention from the philosophers than it has. As Chakra-  
varti says :

..... Sphoṭa seems to have a strange fate, because it  
failed to have any favourable treatment at the hands  
of reputed philosophers.<sup>48</sup>

What the reason might be for this fate of *Sphoṭa* theory, I  
cannot say.

<sup>46</sup> Gottlob Frege, only recently rediscovered by Western philoso-  
phers, seems to me to be espousing Sphoṭa theory when he speaks of  
'concepts' which for him are not ideas in individual minds, but rather  
'objects of Reason'. Cf. his "On Sense and Nominatum".

<sup>47</sup> *Suora*, Introduction, p. 2.

<sup>48</sup> *Op. Cit.* p. 110.



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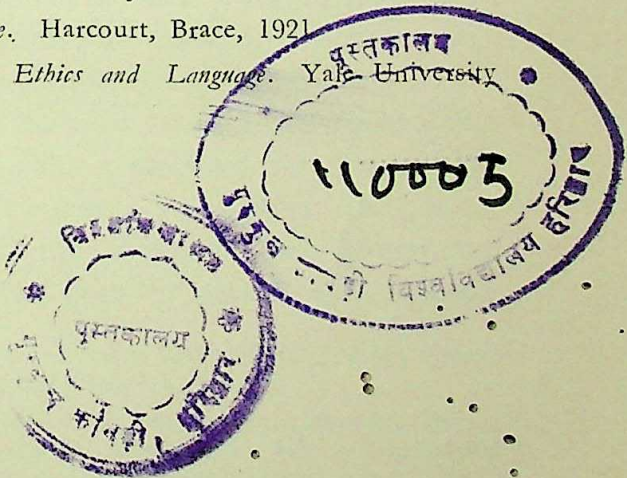
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## LAND SURVEY IN ANCIENT INDIA

(cir. 324 B. C. to A. D. 320)

• By NARENDRA NATH KHER\*

• THE importance of cadastral survey as a prime requisite to the proper assessment of land revenue cannot be under-estimated. With a view to safeguard the interests of the land owners against frequent anomalies arising out of land disputes and land sale etc., as well as to maintain the royal treasury by accurate land assessment and collection, the land survey was considered an essential unit of the state policy in the period with which we are dealing here. Careful measurement of arable land (kṣetra) was known even in the earlier period.<sup>1</sup> But the minute and detailed survey and measurement of all types of land, such as cultivated, uncultivated, wet, fruit-producing, gardens, forests, roads and pasture lands etc., which Kauṭilya introduces to us<sup>2</sup>, was probably done for the first time during that period. Such detailed system of survey and measurement seems to have furnished the state an adequate data of the productive capacity of the people.

In order to ascertain the exact land survey, the boundaries of the villages and fields were fixed by the ruling authority. The early law-giver, Āpastamba frequently refers to the boundaries of the villages.<sup>3</sup> Such boundaries and locations were denoted both by natural and artificial

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<sup>1</sup> *Rg-Veda*; X. 33.6; 1.110.5; 1.100.18; II. 15.4; III. 38.3; Pāṇini refers to the officers called kṣetrakara, who divided the cultivable land into plots by survey and measurement and fixed their area. Cp. Agrawala, V. S., *India as known to Pāṇini*, PP. 142, 197.

<sup>2</sup> *Ārtha-Śāstra* : II. 35.

<sup>3</sup> *Āpast* : 1.3.9, 16; 1.3.11, 9; II, 4.9, 4.



marks.<sup>4</sup> Kauṭilya<sup>5</sup> and Manu<sup>6</sup> lay down that the village boundary should be indicated by a river, mountain raised mound, forest, cave, artificial buildings (setubandha) viz., tanks, wells, cisterns, temples, fountains and bulbous plants (gr̥ṣṭi), trees having long life such as śālmali, śamī, palmyra, silk cotton tree and milky tree (kṣīravṛkṣa) and different kinds of bamboos etc.

The Junnar Buddhist cave inscription (c. 1st century A. D.)<sup>7</sup> delimits the denoted field by a reference to the mount Mānmukada on its west. The Nāsik Buddhist cave inscription of the time of King Vāśiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pūlumāyi (c. 142 A. D.)<sup>8</sup> records that the granted village named Piśājīpadaka (Piśāchīpadraka) was located in the South-west side of the mount Tīraṇhu (Tīraśmi). In the other epigraph of the same ruler (c. 145 A. D.)<sup>9</sup> the village Sudisana (Sudarśana) is said to have been situated at the South of Govadhanāhāra (District Govardhana). Ushavadāta, the son of Dinika and the son-in-law of Nahapāna donated villages which were probably located on the banks of the rivers Bārṇasā (Baṇāsā) and Prabhāsa (Somanāthapattana in Kāthiāwār).<sup>10</sup> In the Mahād Buddhist cave inscription (c. 2nd century A. D.)<sup>11</sup>, such fields were situated below the caves. The garden granted in the Hīrahaḍagalli copper plate inscription of Śivaskandavarman was located in the southern boundary of the village named Cillarekakodumika.<sup>12</sup> A Pallava record of the time of Srīvijayaskanda-

<sup>4</sup> *Arthaśāstra* : II. i; *Manu*, VIII. 246-8.

<sup>5</sup> *Arthaśāstra* : II. I.

<sup>6</sup> *Manu*, VIII. 246-8; Also. Yājñā: II. 151.

<sup>7</sup> *Luders list*, No 1163; A.S.W.I., Vol. IV, P. 96f.

<sup>8</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, 61-2.

<sup>9</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, 68.

<sup>10</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, VII, 57f.

<sup>11</sup> *Luders list* No, 1073.

<sup>12</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, VI, 88.



varman (1st quarter of the 4th century A. D.)<sup>13</sup> mentions that a field was located on the northern side of the drinking well below the King's tank (Rājataḍāka). Thus it is clear that the mountains, caves, rivers, tanks and wells etc., specified the demarcation and location of the villages and plots of land and the rules framed by the ancient Jurists were fairly applied.

Sometimes the location of the field was shown by a reference to its situation on or within the boundary of the town. The field donated in the Junnar Buddhist cave inscription (c. 1st century A. D.) was within the boundary of the town (nagarasīman)<sup>14</sup>. The Nāsik Buddhist cave inscription of King Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī (c. 123 A. D.)<sup>15</sup> records the grant of a plot of land from the royal village situated on the limit of the district town of Govardhana. The field granted by Ushavadāta was on the boundary of the town to its North-west side.<sup>16</sup> Besides, ploughed lands also served as boundaries of the villages.<sup>17</sup>

The boundaries of individual plots are referred to in our sources. Manu<sup>18</sup> states that the stones, bones, cows' hair, chaff, ashes, potsherds, sand pebbles, bricks, cinders and other things of a similar nature having long life should be buried beneath the soil at the junction of the boundaries of the plots. It is understood that most of these articles could be swept away by an excessive rainfall. Hence the later law-giver, Brhaspati<sup>19</sup> recommends such objects to be kept in jars or vessels. Elsewhere Manu enacts that the

<sup>13</sup> Ep. Ind., VIII, 143ff; *Luder list* No. 1327.

<sup>14</sup> *Luder list* No. 1163; The accurate survey and measurement of the towns was also undertaken by the rulers in ancient India. Cf. *Modern Review*, March, 1918.

<sup>15</sup> Ep. Ind., VIII, 73-4.

<sup>16</sup> Ep. Ind., VIII, 78-9.

<sup>17</sup> *Rāmāyaṇa*, 2.49.3.

<sup>18</sup> *Manu* VIII. 250-1; also, *Yājñika*, II. 251.

<sup>19</sup> *Bṛh.* XIX. 20-1.



boundaries should be denoted by some hidden marks which Medhātithi, the commentator, explains as dry cow-dung at the time of the formation of new villages.<sup>20</sup> In addition, numerous references to partition of property<sup>21</sup> suggest the division and demarcation of the fields amongst the lawful heirs. Thus, the marks like stones, pillars,<sup>22</sup> fences of sticks and branches,<sup>23</sup> pegs (kilaka)<sup>24</sup> and water channels<sup>25</sup> etc., were set up around the plots of land which distinguished the land held by the different land owners. Such marks which are used even in the modern times must have facilitated the survey work in ancient India.

The boundaries were held very sacred and any violation to them was severely dealt with. The early law-giver, Baudhāyana<sup>26</sup> says that no one should go to the boundaries of the village without a waterpot. Although the significance of a water-pot is not clear, it may probably be in view of the sanctity of water as one of the five elements of the Universe,<sup>27</sup> that it was not considered an auspicious omen otherwise. Kauṭilya<sup>28</sup> fixes a fine of 24 paṇas for destruction of the boundaries. But Manu<sup>29</sup> is more rigorous in

<sup>20</sup> On *Manu*, VIII. 249.

<sup>21</sup> *Gaut*: X. 39; XXVIII. 4; *Mahāvastu*; 1.346; *Manu*, IX. 111 X. 115; Cf. Goshal, *A History of Indian Political Ideas*, P. 163.

<sup>22</sup> *J.* IV. 281.

<sup>23</sup> *Milinda Paṇḍo*, treckner ed., P. 263 Eko Puriso khetto bijam ropetvā vanam pavisitvā kaṭṭhañcasākhañca chinditvā vatipā karam katvā dhaññam uddhar-eyya; Also P. 360; *J.*, I.215; *J.* IV. 276; *Mbb*, VIII. 12.

<sup>24</sup> *J.*, II. 376ff; *J.*, IV. 169.

<sup>25</sup> *J.*, I.336; *J.*, IV. 167; *J.*, V. 412; *Dhammapada*, 80, 145; *Theragāthā*, 19; *Buddhist India*, P. 46.

<sup>26</sup> *Baud*: 1, 4, 7, 6.

<sup>27</sup> According to Strabo, "Water was the primal element of all creation and that, in addition to the four elements, there is a fifth natural element of which the heavens and heavenly bodies are composed" XV. 1.59; Cf. *Apollonius of Tyana, The Classical accounts of India*, p. 405.

<sup>28</sup> *Arthaśāstra*; III. 9.

<sup>29</sup> *Manu*, VIII. 291.



enacting that such destruction should be punished by mutilation. We further learn from the *Viṣṇu Smṛti*<sup>30</sup> that any one destroying the land marks should be compelled to pay the highest amercement and asked to mark the boundary again with the land marks. The *Mahābhārata*<sup>31</sup> and the later law-giver, Yājñavalkya<sup>32</sup> also lay down suitable penalty for any act of transgressing and removal of the boundary lines.

Notwithstanding the boundary marks and the rules of punishment to obviate the trespasses, land disputes regarding boundaries of the villages and fields were quite common. Such disputes were resolved by the neighbours, the village elders, the members of the same community, the guilds and corporations and the outsiders normally having full acquaintance with the place etc.<sup>33</sup> The mediator was required to know the boundary marks and to give an evidence of his knowledge, he used to put on unusual dress incognito and led the people to the place of dispute. If he stated correct boundary marks, the encroaching party was heavily fined. But if he failed to give correct marks, he was similarly treated.<sup>34</sup> Our ancient Jurists attach great importance to the verdict of the witnesses of different categories in deciding such disputes.<sup>35</sup> The witnesses were to determine the boundaries with truth. Those convicted of false evidence were punished.<sup>36</sup> In the absence of persons knowing the facts on land marks, the boundaries were fixed by the

<sup>30</sup> *Viṣṇu* V. 172.

<sup>31</sup> *Mbh*, *Śānti-Parva*, 59, 62-3; 72-3.

<sup>32</sup> *Yājñā* : II. 158.

<sup>33</sup> *Vās* : XVI. 13-15; *Arthaśāstra* : III. 9; *Manu*, VIII. 258, 262-3; *Yājñā* : II. 153-4.

<sup>34</sup> *Arthaśāstra*. III. 9.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, III. 9; *Manu* VIII. 254-5, 259-61.

<sup>36</sup> *Āpast* : II, ii. 29(7-8); *Gaut*. XIII. 16; *Baud*: 1, 10, 19, 12; *Manu*, VIII. 99, 257; Also *Yājñā*: II. 153ff.



King himself.<sup>37</sup> The modern rural economy which follows these rules with some modifications owes great debt to the ancient Indian law-givers.

The *Arthaśāstra* tells that the total area of the village was ascertained by means of inspection of the village accounts and records which were maintained by the Gopas and the Sthānikas indicating separate entries of produce of different types of land after complete verification of the boundaries of the lands.<sup>38</sup> Spies were also deputed with a purpose to check such accounts.<sup>39</sup> Besides, survey was undertaken by the state officials like the *Rājakammika*<sup>40</sup> and *Rajjuka* or *Rajjugābaka Amacca*.<sup>41</sup> In the *Kurudhamma Jātaka*, the *Rajjugābaka Amacca* is shown busy measuring the field in the province. He tied a rope to the stick, which he passed on to the owner of the field and the other end he held himself. Unfortunately, the stick with which the rope was fastened got into the hole of a crab. The surveyor thought that if he pushed the stick into the hole, the crabs would be destroyed and if he placed it behind, the peasant would suffer. What should be done?<sup>42</sup> Thus great care was taken by the state surveyors to survey the lands accurately, so as to avoid any kind of loss to the treasury or to the peasant. On the other hand, checking of the village accounts by high officials, deputation of spies, admonition to the *Rājukas* or *Rajjukas* to discharge their duties confidently and fearlessly<sup>43</sup> and other measures etc., lead us quite reasonably to assume that the survey was sometimes tainted by giving false measurements or waste land may

<sup>37</sup> *Arthaśāstra*. III. 9; *Manu* VIII. 245, 258, 265; *Yājñ* : II. 156.

<sup>38</sup> *Arthaśāstra*. II. 35.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>40</sup> *J.*, IV. 169.

<sup>41</sup> *J.*, II. 376.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> *Rock Edict* III, *Pillar Edicts*. IV, VII.



have been entered in the records as cultivated and so on. But such instances seem to be very rare. The Jātaka narrative manifests genuine anxiety of the state surveyors for accurate survey of land.

Resurvey of land was also done when the floods washed away the boundary marks. Strabo observes that the rivers were improved and the land was remeasured like in Egypt.<sup>44</sup> According to F. J. Monahan, resurvey was required in the lower Gangetic plain due to frequent alluvium and diluvium caused by the rivers<sup>45</sup>.

Thus elaborate and detailed system of survey and resurvey shows that there was hardly any scope for leaving any piece of land unrecorded for fiscal purposes.

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<sup>44</sup> *Strabo*, XV. 1. 50.

<sup>45</sup> *The Early History of Bengal*, P. 162.







## COMPARATIVE LIGHT ON OATHS AND ORDEALS

By DR. B. H. KAPADIA\*

IT is a significant result of recent ethnological research that all the primitive people of the world take into consideration godly power in order to determine the guilt or the innocence of the accused. Various methods that were and are employed for this are : trial by fire, trial by water, trial by weighing, trial by eating or drinking poison or consecrated food or drink, swearing and exorcism etc., etc.

In the first instance, let us be very clear about primitive oracles and their connection between religion and morality. In order to detect the murderer the Australians used to place a bug or a fly in the grave of the dead and then observe the direction which they adopt or they observe the direction of the smoke while the corpse is being burnt. With the Polyneseans, the accused must place his hand over water and if the water trembles then he is guilty.<sup>1</sup> The guilt or innocence of a being is even decided by the last convulsions of the slaughtered animal. This is even so by people living by the sea-coast e.g. Nias, Dajaks and Igorroton. With the Dajaks of Borneo salt is thrown into water and he whose salt melts first is guilty. In Bilaspur, in the Deccan, while giving the name of the guilty flickerings of light decide it. In Lohardaga in Bengal, rods are dipped into water and on these the name of the guilty is written. Here the rod of the guilty rusts and withers. To decide this, heap of rice is placed before ants. Here the heap of rice of the guilty is eaten up.<sup>2</sup> The corpse of

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<sup>1</sup> Kohler a.a.O.p. 370.

<sup>2</sup> cf. Kohler, *Zeitschr. f. vgl. Rechtswiss.*, IX, p. 14, A.H. Post, *Ethnologische Jurisprudenz*, II, p. 456.



the killed ought to give information about the murderer. The guilt will be decided by the renewed blood, in the wound, from the definite movement of the corpse or the bier. This is so with the Germans, Slavs, Africans and people on the sea-coast. It is to be noted, that here a real, higher, ethical might decides guilt or innocence.

The above quoted Oracles can be treated as godly judgement. Lippert treats the decision through fate as an oracle, Jolly as godly judgement. Such is also the case with the Jews, Egyptians and Indians. In any case, the assertion can be made that an invisible higher power meets out just fate to the guilty. Even the Indian ordeal with a pair of scales gives no direct danger to the suspect. The culprit is weighed twice in the scales. If he appears lighter than the first then he is innocent; but if he has become weighty he is guilty.<sup>3</sup> Here also, there is some unprovable assumption as the basis that a supernatural power in between makes the innocent lighter and the guilty heavier. This power not only knows the difference between good and bad, right and wrong but also endeavours to bring the guilty to book.

The belief in such an ethical, just superhuman power which rules over morality, lies also at the back of oaths and godly judgement.<sup>4</sup>

Oaths, godly disposal and ordeal are closely knit together. The oath, even the purificatory oath, in its original form cannot at all be dissociated from godly disposal. The real essence of all these is, that the accused asserts his innocence in a ceremonial oath; mostly under invocation to god and in case of the contrary, accepts the course of the god viz. evil, destruction of himself and his kiths and kins. What is most loved and dear are drawn in the range of the oath by the swearer. Thus, he puts his hand on his wife

<sup>3</sup> cf. Jolly, a.a.O. p. 145.

<sup>4</sup> cf. *Manu-smṛiti*, VIII. 109. 110. 111. 113-115, 256.



and children and even on such other relatives who are of the same accord as these. Even his best possession, treasures, the sharpness of the sword, the roundness of the shield, the thigh of the horse etc. are touched ceremoniously.<sup>5</sup> After the swearing, a definite time must roll by. If, in between, the swearer or his people or his belongings suffer any evil then he is considered guilty. If more persons are drawn upon under the power of the oath then the proof of his innocence must be naturally considered as most complete.<sup>6</sup>

Later on, the oath changes its character as it becomes only energetic justification under invocation to god and a challenge to his punishment in case of untruth. One swears by the holiness of one's soul, or by all that is loved and dear. As one cannot wait till the working of the oath, the oath thus lost its real character of an Oracle. There is an universal supposition that a higher, supernatural power, say a god helps the innocent. If he is not helped, it proves his guilt. That is the ordeal, the godly disposal in its real intrinsic sense. This is extended all over the globe, exists with all the people of the world known to us even primitive people and Aryans of primitive period practised it. Fire, poison and water in different forms were employed to prove guilt or innocence. Even the consecrated drink or the chewing is availed of.<sup>7</sup>

The proof by fire is drastic and impressive. Here the suspect has to hold fire or hold a red hot substance. This will decide the guilt or innocence from his getting burnt or remaining in tact or, even if the burn gets pus formation, within a certain time limit. Besides, we have walking through the fire or between two fires, or crossing red hot objects with bare foot. In a *Draupadi-festival* one walks

<sup>5</sup> cf. *Manusmṛti*, VIII. 113. 114. cf. *Yāj-S.* II. 103-109, *Vis.* XI-XI

<sup>6</sup> cf. *Manusmṛti*, VIII. 115.

<sup>7</sup> cf. *Manusmṛti*, XI. 104.

F. 5



bare-footed on glowing charcoal. It is found with the Aryans and others. Sītā, the wife of Rāma, is a classical example in point.<sup>8</sup> She has to pass through fire and thus prove her chastity during her stay in Lañkā In Decan, there is running over live charcoal. In Persia, Firdusi's *Sabanama* offers a glowing example. Prince Siaya has to walk through hug heaps of fire in order to justify himself. As he comes out unharmed he is received by the people with great joy. *Avesta* too knows fire ordeal. With the Greeks same is referred to about Sophocles in *Antigone*.<sup>9</sup> With the Germans occurs the custom of walking through a burning mass of wood with bare feet. The Slavs, especially, the Polems know crossing over of hot iron. With the Somali in Africa occurs crossing of glowing wood charcoal. The Siamese allow both the accused and the accuser to walk bear footed over glowing log of wood. Here is two sided ordeal.

Very often, the fire ordeal occurs by touching glowing metals viz. glowing iron led, tin etc. The accused has to hold the hot iron in the hand and walk a little, otherwise he has to lick it. Sometimes the priest scratches the hands, legs, arms, lips, tongue with glowing iron. In the Law books of the Indians,<sup>10</sup> the carrying of glowing iron is treated in extenso. The German Law is also allied. The Slavs, the Lithuanians, Kelts, Ossestens, know this. With the Kalmucks and Mongols the accused has to carry a glowing axe in the hand and throw it in a pit which is at a little distance. In ancient Hungary the hot iron is to be carried to a definite distance. Licking of a glowing plough-share is found with the Indians, licking of a glowing iron spoon is with the Bedhinen and the pressing of hot iron on the

<sup>8</sup> cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, 7-97. 14 ff. *Raghuvaṃśa*, canto XIV verse 61 :  
वाच्यस्त्वया मद्रचनात्स राजा वह्नौ विशुद्धामपि यत्समक्षम्

<sup>9</sup> v. 26, 263 ff.

<sup>10</sup> cf. *Manuśmr̥ti*, VIII. 114-116 *Yāj.* II. 103-109.



tongue is with the Arabs. With the Wakamba in Africa, glowing iron axe is licked thrice. The same occurs with the Kongoiles belonging to Waswaheli in Mombassa. Many Negros too have this custom, of touching or scratching, or licking a hot object. Such is also the case with people on the sea-coast, viz. Malaya-Archipalego. People living by the side of the ocean have the custom of dipping the hand in melted tin e.g. Djohor (Malakka). In Burma and Siam there is the led ordeal in which both the parties have to dip the hand in melted led. With the Papuas melted led is poured out by the cavity of the hand. With the Neuforsen of Neuguinea and Alfures of Buru liquid led is dropped in a rag and is placed in the hand. In the Aaru island pouring of melted led is practised.

Another extensive method of fire ordeal consists of dipping the arms, hand, or the fingers in boiling water, oil or another hot substance. This proof by fire is connected with taking out a substance e.g. a stone, a piece of iron, a coin, a ring, a hood of serpent, an egg etc. from it. This is found with the Indians,<sup>11</sup> Persians, Germans, Kelts, Slavs, Russians, Old-Bohemians, Serbs etc. Such a proof also occurs with Tuschineans, in Kaukasus, Somalis, Negros of Sierraleone-coast, in Malaya-Archipalego, In Aaru island, in Tinor, Papuas, in Alfurea, with the Dajakas, in Madagaskar with the Redjang etc. In Madagaskar the accused has to take out a stone from boiling water. With the Aino a divorced wife must keep the arm in boiling water. With the Papus the ordeal is double-sided as both have to dip the elbow into the boiling water. The same ordeal occurs with the Nuforseans, with the Malays of Djohor (Malakka), with Dajaks, with the Dravidians (bhills), with the Negros of Pfeffer and Gold-Coast, is found in Mandiangs, Kru, with Kongo-tribes, e.g. Wazaramo etc.

<sup>11</sup> cf. *Nārada Smṛti* 1.239 and explanation of *Vācaspatimītra*.



Even the water proof is widely extended. The usual practice is remaining submerged in the water. The accused has to remain under water for a definite period of time. The submerging usually happens with sticks or posts, which are fixed up in the water. At times, the trial is two sided both dive and he who comes out first loses the game. In India, the accused swears by Varuṇa that he should rescue him. Then he holds the thigh of a person who stands in water touching upto the navel and then he dives. At the same time an arrow is shot, a runner runs to bring it. If the runner even on his return finds that the diver is still under water then the latter is set free.<sup>12</sup> With the Bhills in Deccan and in Bengal and even in Burma this custom is preserved to this day. It is found with people living on the sea coast, with Papua of Neuguinea, with Nias, Malayans of Java, in Malakka, with the Alfuseans, Nuforensens, with the Lampongerns, and in the Aaru island.

In another water trial, the accused is thrown in water in a bounded state. He is guilty if he swims and innocent if he is going down. This is found with the Germans of the medieval times, with Slavs, Indians, Burmese etc.

A third water trial consists of crossing a dangerous river or ocean in which there are crocodiles or Sharks. It is practised in India, with the Negros, Kongoides and in Madagaskar.

Even the ordeal by giving poison is widely extensive. The poison is generally drunk and after its effect the accused is considered guilty or innocent. Thus, in Madagaskar is the case of ordeal with poison, viz. Tanghin poison.<sup>13</sup> The accused wants to purify himself by this ordeal and the belief is so strong and at the same time definite. Poison ordeal exists with the ancient Indians<sup>14</sup> with the Jews, in

<sup>12</sup> Yāf. 2.108.

<sup>13</sup> Kohler, A.A.O.p. 372.

<sup>14</sup> Jaf. A.A.O. p. 145.



Africa with the Negroes and with the Kongo folks.<sup>15</sup> A few variants of this ordeal occur by people living on the sea coast and with South Americans.

Somewhat peculiar is the proof by consecrated drink or eating such a morsel. In this ordeal, the accused is given to drink<sup>16</sup>, or eat unharmed substances which are consecrated and it is inferred from these that they will harm the guilty. Consecrated drink is employed by Indians and oceanic people. In India the accused is given water to drink, the water in which an image of a god is immersed. If within a given interval his relatives or himself experience bad fate then he is guilty.<sup>17</sup>

The ordeal by consecrated morsel is employed in theft. In ancient India, in such a case, and only in such a case rice corn consecrated with water is given. The corn is chewed and is spitted out. If thereby blood comes out then he is guilty. A similar proof occurs with German Jurisprudence and also in France, Bayer, Almenia. After different prayers the consecrated beer and cake are thrashed into the mouth of the accused during which the priest repeats swearings. If he trembles and if the morsel is soiled with blood or spits it out then he is guilty. If he eats it easily and without any harm he is innocent. This is the "*Judician anis et cāsei.*" With the Romans this is the only godly disposal known to us. Ordeal at theft occurs with Chakmas in Chittgong, with Kandhas in Orissa, oceanic people, in Timor, in Wetar, with the Makasars, Behak etc.

Lastly, even different proofs of power are used as godly disposal. The denial of the power is considered as

<sup>15</sup> *Post*, a.a.O. II p. 470.

<sup>16</sup> Mirābai drinking poison after offering the drink to the favourite god and then she drinks this in good faith with no harm as a consequence.

<sup>17</sup> *Jolly*, a.a.O.p. 145.



token of guilt. We have raising of hands in Aaru island, with Kongo people and like this, the so-called cross proof with the Germans. Both the parties stand with upraised steadfast hands. He who first drops down the hands or touches the hands has lost<sup>18</sup>. There is running of the race which is instituted by Dajaks of Borneo; wherein both the parties participate. There is also the well-known legal dual. It exists with the Indians, Botokuden, Aino, Eskimos, Tungesen, Australians, and oceanic people.

We have thus cast a superficial glance over the wide range of godly disposal which plays a great role in deciding right or wrong, guilt or innocence. It is important that such a kind of decision is found even with people with lower cultural development. All these proofs take root in the unshakable solid belief in a higher supernatural godly power which knows and decides right and wrong guilt and innocence. It protects the innocent from danger or harm and meets out punishment to the guilty. On this score, we find this method in a greater compass with ceremonial prayers tied to godly disposal.<sup>19</sup> The form of oaths and ordeals have so penetrated the lives of people and their connection with religious and moral life so clear and unequivocal that there is no scope for dispute. It is likely that in their initial stages they might have been different.

Originally, oath was not a curse, a self-exorcism, a sort of exorcism which one directed against himself and his kiths and kins. Therefore, the ancient Indian language has the root *śap* for, cursing and swearing and has the same word for a curse and swear viz. *śapatha*.<sup>20</sup> The godly

<sup>18</sup> Post a, a, O, II, p. 361.

<sup>19</sup> The Indians call oath and godly disposal as *Daivī-kriyā* i.e. the godly proof. cf. Jolly : *Recht und Sitte*, p. 142.

<sup>20</sup> *Gaṇt.* XIII. 12-13; *Viṣṇusmṛti* IX. 2-9. According to *Mēdhātithi* "Oath" is used for the whole *daiva anumāna*, divine proof and includes the ordeals.



judgement is to be considered as a sharp form of an oath without ethical or religious background.

That an oath is a self-exorcism we can willingly accept (to be more explicit) as a sort of self-exorcism. It is not only a purifying oath but a faithful oath, and an oath of contract in which the swearer invokes evil on his head in case he violates the faith. But the question is who decides the result? Whether the condition of a self-exorcism is fulfilled or not? Who decides the truth or the untruth of the assertion, about guilt or innocence? In the given instance, who resolves the consequence of the exorcism or holds it back? It cannot be a man for the simple reason that he cannot do it. If there is no human god then there must be an impersonal, in any case, a higher, supernatural super-human, a power independent of men, a power that knows the exact and the just decision of truth and untruth, just and unjust, guilt and innocence, true and wrong; in brief, good and evil. This power has the eye directed everywhere and holds the holy and the unholy in his hands.

What is it that lends support to the procedure in the belief of the people in this fact that the fire burns the guilty and absolves the innocent, that the crocodile eats up the guilty and not the innocent, that the poison kills the one and is vomitted or spitted out by the other? That, according to ethical preconditions, one can remain under water longer than the other and so on. Guilt or innocence of men directly influence and govern the process of nature is accepted as the basis of any trial. When one cannot assert a personal god as the guide of the process then it only remains that there is some impersonal but ethically just higher power.

Oldenberg considers curse as a kind of material fluid, dangerous and helpful substance in whose activity primitive people believed. How can such a substance activate in an oath when the swearer is unfaithful, untrue, or guilty?



In view of the asserted conditions, does this fluid, this substance itself dwell inside the power to decide guilt and innocence, good and bad, faithful and unfaithful? This is indeed a belief that is difficult to be conceived of. Still, it is a fact that people since very ancient times decide godly disposal by oaths and ordeals and are used to connect this with ceremonious invocations to some godly power.

With the Greeks, since ancient times known to us Zeus and besides him other gods are invoked by oath as witnesses. Schrader states<sup>21</sup> that in ancient Rome more than usual Jupiter is constantly invoked as a witness at the time of an oath and as an executioner of the godly disposed punishment. In a passage of Polybins<sup>22</sup> on the occasion of a trade contract between Romans and Kartheans two formulae of oaths are given one invokes Mars and Quirinus, the other invokes without gods.

The Indians already in the Vedic times at an oath invoked water, cow and God Varuṇa as witness. Oldenberg has pointed this out<sup>23</sup>. In the *Yajurveda*,<sup>24</sup> it is said: Make us free from every law, O king Varuṇa! when we swear O ye Waters! O cow! O Varuṇa! then! O Varuṇa! make us free from that. In the *Atharvaveda*<sup>25</sup> it is said: O king Varuṇa! O you provider of thousand fold power! men have said many untruths, set us free from distress as we have invoked O water! O cow! O Varuṇa! therefore, O possessor of thousand fold power! free us from oppression.<sup>26</sup> It clearly dealt with an old swearing formula a form for purificatory oath, in which the invocation of pure and purified

<sup>21</sup> in *a. a. O.* p. 168.

<sup>22</sup> 3.25.6 f.

<sup>23</sup> in *a. a. O.* p. 520.

<sup>24</sup> *T. S. I.* 3.II.1.

<sup>25</sup> 19.44.8.9.

<sup>26</sup> *S. Br.* 3.8.5.10.



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<sup>26</sup> *S. Br.* 3.8.5.10.



water, the holy unharmed cow and above all god Varuṇa, the Indian Jehova, form the real content. That god Varuṇa plays a prominent role, that he sets people free from oppression and that he saves comes out clearly from these and it is significant from this that similar invocation to Zeus, Jupiter by the Greeks and Romans as all the three Varuṇa, Zeus, and Jupiter have developed from the highest noble being, i.e., the heaven's god (of remote Aryan) antiquity. In the *R̥gveda* there is self-exorcism which is found without the invocation to a god i.e. without his intervention<sup>27</sup> May I die if I am a sorcerer, or if I have injured the life of men<sup>28</sup>. A self-exorcism, a sort of self-imprecation is probable for all times with all people and this belief in imprecation in no way excludes the role of a god who revenges and punishes the party concerned. In this very Maṇḍala of the *R̥gveda*, Varuṇa comes out as the all-wise, holy revenger of untruth.

In ancient Germany Odhin, Thorr, and Freyr were invoked, on occasion also Njordhr was added to this list.<sup>29</sup>

Is it possible to draw a conclusion from the fact of oath and godly disposal that description of pre-Indo-Germanic religion requires still to be supplemented and justified? In the above discussed matter we have given our attention to oaths, ordeals,<sup>30</sup> oracles, exorcisms, self-imprecations and asserations or more popularly that which is known as *Satyakriyā* or *saccakiriya* in Prakrit finds place in the belief of all climes and of all times. To account for

<sup>27</sup> e.g. in 7.104.15.

<sup>28</sup> अदद्या मुरीय यदि यातुधानो अस्मि यदि वायुस्ततप पूरुषस्य..यो मायातु यातुधानेत्याह (*Ibid.*) 7.104.16.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. E. H. Meyer, *Germanische Mythologie*, p. 186.

<sup>30</sup> *Manu*, VIII. 109-116 describes administration of oaths more fully and mentions ordeals by fire and water in a cursory manner. Among the Dharma Sūtras, *Āpastamba* II. 29.6 recommends ordeals in a general way. *Yājñika-valkya* and *Nārada* describe five kinds of ordeals. Even *Viṣṇu-smṛti* agrees with them.



this is so to say next to impossible. Still, the blind faith of the people of the world at large is so strong that it cannot be made unstable from the solid rock of faith on which this is pinned.

Before I bring this article to a close, I shall be failing in my duty if I do not express my deep sense of gratitude to the publisher and the author of "*Arische Religion*" viz. of *Leopold von Schroeder* as I have drawn upon the matter presented in the first volume of this book published in the year 1914.

The German word for oath is *Eid* and for ordeal is *Ordal*. The earliest description of an oath is found on the ritual of *Ait. Br.* at the time of the ceremony of *Tanū-napāt*. Here *Varuṇa* is brought in.<sup>31</sup> In the *Ṛgveda* to some extent and in the later literature *Varuṇa* is a god of water. *Varuṇa* is considered as the god of oath. In the ancient time people swear by water. Though *Indra* is the greatest god still in the sphere of morality and religion *Varuṇa* has an important rôle to perform. He is *Ṛtapā* and is connected more with *Ṛta* than any other god of the Vedic pantheon. The *Nārada-Smṛti* mentions three kinds of oaths. They are : with fire, with water, and with sukṛta.<sup>32</sup> According to the explanation of *Vācaspatimiśra* II the swearer in an oath dips his hand in hot water. In the *Yājñavalkya*,<sup>33</sup> *Varuṇa* is connected with water-oath and shooting and bringing of an arrow while remaining in water. In the middle ages, the idea that *Varuṇa* drives out a false oath taker from his kingdom is predominant. Cf. King *Dilīpa* and *Pr̥thu Vainya*<sup>34</sup> and the contrast in the story of king *Yudhiṣṭhira* whose chariot touches the ground the moment he utters an untruth.

Closely connected with oaths is the phenomenon of *Saṃyākriyā* or *saccakiriya* in Pāli. A few examples of it are :

<sup>31</sup> *A. V.* 19.44.8-9. *Ā. V.* 4.16.2-9. <sup>32</sup> 1.339.

<sup>33</sup> 2.108

<sup>34</sup> *M. Bb.* 7.61.9, 7.69.9,



the crossing of Vipāśa and Śutudrī by the Bhāratas,<sup>35</sup> the episode of Damayantī and the hunter, the story of Satyavān and Sāvitrī,<sup>36</sup> *Jātaka* 463. 13 (the story of the captain, Supāraka), *Jātaka* 540.87-90 (poison of Sāma) *J.* 519.27 (prince Soththiṣeṇa), *J.* 499. 24-26 (the story of King Śibi), *J.* 540.104 (Buddha curing Ānanda), *J.* 62 (the story of king Aṇḍabhūtajātaka), *Milindapañha* (the story of the celebrated harlot of Pāṭaliputra), 18th ch. of *Mahāvamśa Divyavadāna* (the story of Kuṇāla) *J.* 489 ; 444.1 ; 542 ; *Mark.* p. 16 ; *M. Bh.* (3.57.17 Damayantī and the gods), Maḥāśvetā in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, *Kathāsaritsāgara* 63rd चरण; *Daśa-Kumāracarita* of Daṇḍin (8th ucchvāsa) *Avadānaśataka* (1.9) ; cf. *Rtamkr.* (R. V. 2.30.1) and Satya Kr. (R. V. I. 10. 111.1).

Oath and a contract are considered as identical. While giving a gift, water is to be poured on the hand of the receiver. This Indian custom has penetrated all those places where Indian culture has penetrated. Thousands of inscriptions from ancient time down to the latest period bear evidence to this.<sup>37</sup> This custom is beautifully represented in the relief of Bharhut in which Anāthapiṇḍaka is portrayed. Pouring of water is also found when a person takes someone's shelter. This is known as *Abhaya-dāna*. When a child is adopted, water is to be poured.<sup>38</sup> When a slave is set free water is to be poured.<sup>39</sup> When curse is to be pronounced water is to be taken in the hand.<sup>40</sup>

Tataḥ krudhḥastu saudāsastoyam jagrāha pāṇinā/  
Vaśiṣṭham śaptumārebhe . . . . .//

His wife counteracted thus :

<sup>35</sup> 3.33.13, cf. the last v. of 1.21, 10.37.2, *Nalākhyāna* of the *M. Bh.* 3.63.38.

<sup>36</sup> *M. Bh.* 3. 267. 99.

<sup>37</sup> *Jātaka*, 6.344.10ff.

<sup>38</sup> *Manu.* 9.168.

<sup>39</sup> *Nārada.* 5.42.

<sup>40</sup> *Rāmāyaṇa*, 7. 65. 29).



Tataḥ krodhamayaṁ toyāṁ tejobalasanvitaṁ/  
 "vyasasarjata . . . . .//

This water trickled on the feet and they were stained (kalmāṣa). Since then, Saudāsa is known as Saudāsa Kalmāṣapāda.<sup>41</sup>

The earliest example of an ordeal is found in the *Cb. U.* Here is a reference to the red hot axe to be employed in case of a person accused of theft. The fire ordeal seen in the *Atharvaveda* by Schadginintweit, Weber, Ludwig, Zimmer, and others has been disapproved by scholars like Grill, Whitney etc. Such an ordeal appears in the Brāhmaṇas. Geldner suggests that this usage is referred to even in the *R̥gveda*. But, Macdonnel and Keith do not subscribe to this view.<sup>42</sup>

Excepting the *Viṣṇusmṛti* the other *Dharmasūtras* seem to be silent about the means of proof by ordeal. Recourse to ordeals by fire,<sup>43</sup> sacred libation,<sup>44</sup> water and balance<sup>45</sup> are recorded in *Viṣṇusmṛti*. Also by viṣa (poison) at 13.1. *Śapatha* (Oath) occurs at V. S. 8.19. *Viṣṇu-Smṛti* has the word *saṁaya* for ordeal at 6.23 ; 9.1, 11.9.

Just as Varuṇa, the god of water, is connected with oaths, his companion Mitra (avestan Mithra) is connected with contract. In the celebrated marriage hymn<sup>46</sup> Mitra plays a role in the marriage contract. So also Aryaman. Thus, Varuṇa, Mitra and Aryaman have a higher role to play in the ethical life of Indians.

In the *Raubbhīya-Caritra* of Devamūrti, a disciple of Devacandraśrī, belonging to the Kasendra Gaccha of the Jaina order gives in V. 358 a word krośa (kośa) for water ordeal i.e. the water in which an idol is bathed and it is given thrice to an offender for sipping.

<sup>41</sup> *Viṣṇu*. P. 4.4.19ff. Cf. also *Ilias* 15.36 = *Odyssey* 5.184ff. = *Hymn* in *Apollo* 84ff.

<sup>42</sup> *Vedic Index* 1.364.

<sup>43</sup> 11.1

<sup>44</sup> 14.1

<sup>45</sup> 12.1, 9.23, 10.1.

<sup>46</sup> 10.85.



In the Brahmanical literature, we have the example of Vatsa who while asserting his purity of Brahmanical origin walks through fire without any harm,<sup>47</sup> Triśoka's assertion of superior Vedic knowledge by a fire ordeal and the successful crossing of a stream and the glowing axe which is brought for the purpose of testing the accused thief<sup>48</sup> and the weighing ordeal is found in the *Ś. Br.* 11.2.7. 33. A procedure to prevent the burning of the hand in the ordeal of plunging the hand into the boiling oil while extracting a piece of gold is prescribed in the *Kaṇḍika* IV. 16. The above discussion gives in nut shell the panoramic view of oaths and ordeals existing with various ethnic groups.

<sup>47</sup> *P. Br.* 14.6.8, *J. Br.* 3.233ff.

<sup>48</sup> *Ś. Br.* 1.9.3.







## MONOSYLLABIC ORIGIN OF THE VEDIC LANGUAGE†

By DR. S. K. GUPTA\*

### *A New Approach to the Problem of the Origin of Language*

1. Ever since the commencement of linguistic speculations among mankind the problem of the origin of language has constantly engaged human mind. Various theories about the origin and nature of language must have been framed, discussed, accepted and discarded during the course of the long time that has passed since the first speculations on the origin of language. The only theory that has come down to us is of divine origin. It exists in practically all religions and societies.

2. Modern studies originating in the West have again taken up the problem and have gradually evolved various theories to solve this naughty problem. This modern study has accepted a scientific and objective stand in its investigation. It is beyond the scope of the present paper to discuss these theories and their merits and demerits. It is now held that there is a certain amount of truth in practically all the theories and no one theory can be considered sufficient to account for the various problems connected with the origin of a language. But a new approach to the study of languages might help in solving some of the riddles. It is to examine the nature of Rg-Vedic language and to

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examine the evidences in it that throw light on its development from its basic language.

### *The I. E. Language and its Nature*

3. The Vedic language belongs to the Indo-European family of languages. To this family belong Greek, Latin, French, German, Iranian, Lithuanian and many other European and Asian languages. From a comparison of the various languages of this group it was concluded that there was an earlier language out of which all the other languages have developed. Herculan efforts were made to reconstruct this language by comparing the words of various languages and applying certain phonetic laws that were and are believed to have operated in this development of the \*I.E. mother tongue into Sanskrit and other sister tongues. This reconstructed hypothetical language was made the basis of all linguistic studies, particularly those connected with the Veda and other allied ancient works, the interpretation of which had become doubtful in course of time.

4. The \*I.E. language words reconstructed as described above are polysyllabic. They resemble words of the I.E. languages. The difference is of sounds in some syllables. A slight variation in the number of syllables is also met with.

5. The Vedic literature has recorded much information about the linguistic speculations of the Vedic R̥ṣis with particular reference to the language of the Mantras.

### *Nature of Primeval Language*

6. Before a study of the information supplied by the Vedic literature it will be worthwhile to note at the outset what the nature of the primitive language—the source of later developed languages might have been.

7. It is the experience of all that a child while learn-



ing to speak utters single syllables. Lewis writes<sup>1</sup> that the first words or sounds of a child are sharp, nasal, sometimes staccato and impeded and sometimes long. It is not possible to express them in writing. They approximate the sound a-a-a (अ-अ-अ). The sounds indicate that the child is in discomfort.

8. After sometimes the child begins to make sounds which express that it is in comfort and is happy. These sounds are not quite clear and well defined and can be represented by अह-अह- अह-ओ-ओ-उ-उ-उ. Both these types of sounds are produced naturally and automatically as a part of the state of the physical body of the child—in comfort or in discomfort.

9. Gradually to these vowel-like sounds consonant sounds begin to be added. This development of the sounds uttered by a child can be indicated as follows :—

*Elementary Consonants in the weeping arising out of discomfort*

Va-Va-Va-Va

La-La-La-La-

ng-ng-ng-ng

ha-ha-ha-ha

*Elementary consonants in comfort*

ga-ga-ga-ga

ka-ka-ka-ka

ca-ca-ca-ca

ra-ra-ra-ra

More consonants develop in course of time.

*Later consonant sounds developed in discomfort*

ma-ma-ma-ma

na-na-na-na

The vowel sound can transform into i from a.

<sup>1</sup> M.M. Lewis, 'How Children Learn to Speak.'  
 F. 7



*Later consonants developed in comfort*

mā-ma-ma-ma

na-na-na-na

pa-pa-pa-pa

ba-ba-ba-ba

ta-ta-ta-ta

da-da-da-da

The vowel sounds can be many including o, u, e.

10. These sounds relate to the child's state when it is believed that it does not make a conscious effort to be under-stood. These sounds are merely physical outcome of its bodily movements. When it utters the first words consciously with a view to attract the attention of others or to convey its desire it tries to imitate the words spoken around it. In this imitation it utters single syllables which it repeats till its object is realized. These imitated words are not complete words but single syllables--a combination of a vowel and one or more consonants. For sometime a child calls every thing and person by the same syllable or monosyllabic word.

11. Likewise, the first utterances of mankind must have been monosyllabic. He would have accompanied them by gestures and emphasis on sounds. He would have tried to convey various meanings by the same sound by varying its use and emphasis on it. He would have done so in a way similar to the monosyllabic languages like the Chinese that have come down to us.

*Views of Vedic Rsis on the nature of Primeval language—Mono-Syllabic requiring special exposition*

12. The Vedic literature appears to support this conclusion of an original monosyllabic language. The *Rg-Veda* observes that the first speech appeared in the form of names (of objects). The faultless sublime true sense of these (name-sounds) was hidden. This hidden



meaning could be known by special exposition (Prenā—fr. pra-e-nā).<sup>2</sup> The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* states that the first words uttered by Prajāpati were ekākṣara-dvyakṣara, i.e., monosyllables followed by bisyllabic words.<sup>3</sup> This work has assigned some meanings to the syllables ṇa and ṣa.

*Language laboured artificial and well-planned*

13. This divine language of names was composed by learned men with great conscious efforts and after careful sifting. Only those persons can know the true and original senses of (Vedic words) who have the same type of knowledge, background and training which the inventors of this language had—‘sakhāyaḥ sakhyāni jānate.’<sup>4</sup>

14. All objects and senses etc. (—deva) rest, i.e. exist in the most secret (lit. protected) syllables of Ṛks. Knowers of this secret form of the Ṛks alone can reach the depth of the sense of Ṛks.<sup>5</sup> The seven speeches (sapta vāñih) have been created by means of syllables.<sup>5a</sup> These monosyllabic seven speeches bear fire (=sense) as the sole (and moving, active—eka) conception.<sup>6</sup>

15. The *Tāṇḍya Mahā-Brahmaṇa* says that speech is monosyllabic in nature<sup>7</sup>. A sāman chant begun with a monosyllabic word, therefore, leads a man to heaven.<sup>8</sup> The divine language (—the Vedic Language) is free from the defects of human speech.<sup>9</sup> This suggests that this

<sup>2</sup> Ṛv. X. 71.1. Also see Ṛv. IX. 87.3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ait. Ā.* I. 3.3. The examples given there are tata and tāta.

<sup>4</sup> Ṛv. X. 71.2.

<sup>5</sup> Ṛv. I. 164.39. N. XIII. 10 offers a different interpretation but leading to the same conclusion in a round about way. The essence of the ṛks ‘Tat’ according to Śākapūni is ‘Om’ which is a combination of the syllables a, u and m. Everything else—material or otherwise—is an explanation of these three syllables or their combination ‘om’.

<sup>5a</sup> Ṛv. I 164.24.

<sup>6</sup> Ṛv. III. 1.6.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *TāBr.* IV. 3.3; also see XV. 10-14.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.*, VI. 5.10.



Brāhmaṇa considers the language of the Mantras laboured and artificial. *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* believes that the language of the Mantras was composed by austerity and great labour by wise thinker sages who performed ceremonies and sacrifices by means of Vedic verses.<sup>10</sup>

*Monosyllabic division and explanation of words*

16. Fire (agni) is speech (Vāk). A division of agni into two syllables (ag-ni or a-gni) is a division of Vāk itself.<sup>11</sup> This would lead to the conclusion that 'a' or 'ag' is the same as 'vā' or 'va' and 'ni' or 'gni' is identical with 'k' or 'ak.'

17. At the time of creation Prajāpati gave out three words—'a, ka, ho.' Again He divided the word 'Vāk' into 'va, a, k.' His first utterance 'akṣara' came out in three syllables—uttered one after another. These syllables were a, kṣa, ra. They denoted the three worlds—this world, the mid air and heaven respectively.<sup>12</sup>

*Form is the basis of syllabic analysis of words*

18. The rite lasting for three nights (Trirātra) depends on (mono-) syllables (akṣara). The words Vāk, Akṣara and Puruṣa consists of one, three and three syllables.<sup>13</sup> This Trirātra itself is speech. The division of worlds into syllables is made on the basis of their form (rūpa—appearance and sense).

*Contribution of Mithuna Prakriyā (pairing) in the development of language*

19. Expression of meanings by monosyllabic words and the development of polysyllabic language from a monosyllabic source language is based on 'mithuna-prakriyā'—'process of combination'.

<sup>10</sup> TB. II. 8.8.

<sup>11</sup> TāBr. X. 12.7-8. Vāk can also be analysed as vā-ak; or as vā-āk.

<sup>12</sup> ~~ibid.~~ X. 14.2.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.* XX. 14.7-8.



20. The syllable, 'Om' has been formed by a combination of ṛk and sāmān. Speech is ṛk. Principle of life (or breath) is sāmān. This combination is of ṛk and principle of life or of ṛk and sāmān.<sup>14</sup>

*Syllables expressive of gods*

21. There are thirty three syllables in a Virāt stanza. Deities also are thirty three in number. Each syllable denotes one deity. The first eight syllables indicate the Vasus, the next eleven indicate the Rudras, the next two stand for the Ādityas and the last two denote Prajāpati and Vaśatkāra<sup>15</sup>. (Vāk and svara 'tune, accent' according to the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*).<sup>16</sup> These thirty three gods are called 'Akṣarabhāja' since they rest in syllables. They drink soma juice in order of the syllables (which indicate them).<sup>17</sup>

*Syllables expressive of various worlds lead to them*

22. The Bṛhatī metre consists of thirty six syllables. These syllables are separated (from each other) and lead to principles of life (prāṇa) and heavenly abodes.<sup>18</sup> Elsewhere it is said that a sacrificer attains each of the three worlds by ten syllables, the four quarters by means of four syllables and lives in this world by means of two syllables.<sup>19</sup> The Anuṣṭup metre has sixty four syllables which are pregnant with affluence of meaning. Each of them leads to one world (loka—lit. something perceptible).<sup>20</sup>

*Syllables and Prajāpati*

23. Ṛk consists of one syllable; yajuṣ, sāmān and Brahman consist of two syllables each. These constitute

<sup>14</sup> Ch. Up. I. 1.5.6

<sup>15</sup> AB. I. 10; P. 45.

<sup>16</sup> GB. II. 2.13.

<sup>17</sup> AB. II.37.

<sup>18</sup> AB. VII.1. The statement is based on the division of the sacrificial animal and its distribution coupled with the statement 'metres are paśus of gods' (SB. IV. 4.3.1).

<sup>19</sup> AB. IV. 24.

<sup>20</sup> AB. I.5.



seven syllables and denote the sevenfold Prajāpati. This sevenfold Prajāpati becomes hundredfold.<sup>21</sup> This probably refers to the various sounds and combinations which the letters in these syllables are capable of yielding.

*Each syllable of Br̥hati metre denotes an animal*

24. There are six seasons in a year. Each is associated with six animals whose nature has been specified. The total of these animals comes to thirty six. They correspond to the thirty six letters of a Br̥hati metre.<sup>22</sup>

*Syllables as means to victory by gods*

25. The *Yajurveda* says that Agni wins breath by means of one syllable. Aśvinau win two legged men by two syllables; Viṣṇu wins the three worlds by three syllables. This description goes on and proceeds up to seventeen syllables.<sup>23</sup> In this description the number of syllables corresponds to the number of objects attained.

*Interpretation of the syllable 'da'*

26. There is a story. Prajāpati initiated gods, men and demons into the secret of Brahman and gave them the syllable 'da' which they interpreted according to their inherent nature.<sup>24</sup>

*Addition of syllables to Vedic stanzas—Division of Puruṣa into pu, ru and ṣa*

27. There is an interesting note on the division of the word 'puruṣa' into its syllables. If by mistake a sacrificer appoints a priest who performs an eaten (jagdha), swallowed (gīṛṇa) or vomitted (vānta) sacrifice, as it were, should expiate by the three Vāmadevyā verses which represent the worlds of the sacrificer, of nectar and heaven. The third of these verses is short by three syllables. The

<sup>21</sup> ŚB. X. 2.4. 6-8.

<sup>22</sup> ŚB. XIII. 5.4.28.

<sup>23</sup> YV. XVII. 31-34.

<sup>24</sup> ŚB. XIV. 8.2.



word 'puruṣa' which is a synonym of the Self should be split into three syllables—pu, ru and ṣaḥ. Each of these syllables should be put at the end of each foot of this third verse (which consists of three feet only).<sup>25</sup> This stanza will then read as follows:—

a bhī ṣu ṇaḥ sa khī nām pu  
a vi tā ja ri tṛ ṇām ru.  
sa ta mbha vā syū ta ye ṣaḥ.

This construction becomes useless unless it is assumed that each of the syllables 'pu, ru' and 'ṣaḥ' individually stands for some complete concepts or ideas. The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* constructs Bṛhatī verses by connecting parts of different verses and adding these three syllables 'pu, ru, and 'ṣaḥ' at the end of its feet.<sup>26</sup>

*Om consists of a, u and m*

28. The syllables a, u and m were generated from the semon of the Vedas in the form of the words bh ḥ, bhuvah and svaḥ. Prajāpati collected them in one place and manufactured the word 'Om'.<sup>27</sup>

*'Ka, kha*

29. A story relates that ka, kha are Brahma in the same way in which Prāṇa (breath) is Brahma. All that is ka is also kha.<sup>28</sup> 'Ka' indicates the blissful aspect of the Supreme Soul and 'kha' denotes His 'all pervading nature'.<sup>29</sup>

*Basic sounds yield 1080 sounds*

30. The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* records in a complicated and not very clear computation that the forty one or forty five letters of the alphabet assume 720 forms. In another

<sup>25</sup> AB. III. 46.

<sup>26</sup> Ait. Ār. V.1.6.

<sup>28</sup> Ch. Up. IV. 10.5.

<sup>27</sup> AB. V. 32.

<sup>29</sup> Vaidika Jyoti, PP. 1-2..



calculation this number technically called 'akṣara-sammāna' swells upto 1080.<sup>30</sup> In Chinese there are 409 different sounds built up from sixty two basic syllables, either independently or in combination. Williamson has described 1210 characters and Soothhill has treated 4,000 characters of the Chinese language.<sup>34</sup> Does the statement of the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* mean that at one time there were 1080 and at another 720 characters or does it mean that there were 1080 characters and 720 sounds built up from 41 or 43 basic syllables?

*Words explained with reference to their syllables*

31. There are certain explanations in the Samhitās and the Brāhmaṇas followed by the *Nirukta* and others where a word has been divided into syllables and each syllable has been assigned a meaning. The whole word stands for the combined sense of all its syllables. To illustrate some examples are cited below :—

(a) *Sāma* is composed of *sā* and *āma* which have been explained as wife and husband who have again been called *ṛk* and *sāma*, and earth and heaven respectively. They unite together and procreate.<sup>32</sup>

(b) *Satyam* is composed of *sa*, *ti* and *am* which respectively mean truth, false and truth.<sup>33</sup> It may be noted that the *√am* means to move and is analogous to the */-√ṛ* which gives the word 'ṛta'. 'Am' in this combination, therefore, appears to signify 'truth in its aspect of ṛta'. 'Ti' would then mean 'absence of any activity', i.e. mere existence and would corroborate the meaning of 'sa'—'true existence'.

<sup>30</sup> *Ait. Ār.* III. 2. 1-2.

<sup>31</sup> Williamson, *Teach Yourself Chinese* (referred to further as TYC), PP. 2; 438; 441-500; 440 fn. The famous dictionary of K'angHsi contains over 40,000 different characters Giles dictionary contains 10,859. P. 6.

<sup>32</sup> *Av.* XIV. 2.71. Also see *Vedabbhāṣa*, 8/23.

<sup>33</sup> *ŚB.* XIV. 6.8.6.2.



(c) *Hṛdayam* has been split into *hr*, *da* and *yam*. The entire word signifies (a) *Prajāpati* (lord of creatures); (b) *Brahma* (the Supreme Entity) and (c) all that is. Now individually 'hr' means 'for whom they carry', 'da' means 'they give to him' and 'yam' denotes 'goes to heaven'.<sup>34</sup>

(d) *Uktham* has been split into 'uk' and 'tham' which have been assigned the following senses :

| UK                   | Tham      | Reference          |
|----------------------|-----------|--------------------|
| 1. Principle of life | Food      | ŚB.X.4.1.23;6.2.10 |
| 2. Fire              | Food      | ŚB. X. 4.1.4.      |
| 3. Fire              | Oblations | ŚB. X.6.2.8.       |
| 4. Sun               | Moon      | ŚB. X.6.2.9.       |

Their combination is *uktham* (Om) which signifies the ultimate Power.

(e) *Udgītham* has been divided into three syllables—*ud*, *gī* and *tham*. Their meanings are as follows :—

| Ud                              | gī          | tham                                 |
|---------------------------------|-------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Sun                          | fire        | moon                                 |
| 2. Chant (sāma)                 | stanza (ṛk) | formula (yajus)                      |
| 3. Breath                       | speech      | mind <sup>35</sup>                   |
| 4. Credence (faith—<br>śraddhā) | sacrifice   | gift (sacrificial fee) <sup>36</sup> |

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* has given another composition of the word as *ud* and *gītha*. Their copulative compound gives the form 'udgītha'. These two words mean 'breath' and 'speech'.<sup>37</sup>

(31a). The single sense of the compound 'udgītha' is 'Om', the Supreme Soul.

<sup>34</sup> ŚB. XIV. 8.4.

<sup>35</sup> *JuBr.* I.57. 7-8.

<sup>36</sup> *ibid.* I. 19.2. Here only the senses are given. The syllables have not been specified.

<sup>37</sup> ŚB. XIV. 4.1.25.



*Meanings of Monosyllabic Words in the Brāhmaṇas*

(32) The Brāhmaṇas have assigned some senses to monosyllabic Vedic words which are now known as incapable of representing those senses independently. The following examples may be noted :

ā—(i) vital air called udāna, (ii) returning of animals (iii) the vital air apāna, (iv) heaven, (v) (procreation of) semon.  
it—rain.

ud—The sun.

ūrka—(i) Udumbara, (ii) food, (iii) muñja, (iv) virāt, (v) essence of waters.

Kyam—(i) food (ii) moon.

Ta—Yajuṣ.

Pra—(i) principle of life, (ii) sky, (iii) departure of animals, (iv) sprinkling of semon.

mā—moon.

ram—principle of life (prāṇa).

vi—food.

*Monosyllabic remains and fossils*

33. There are some remains and fossils which indicate that the basis of the language of the Mantras might have been a monosyllabic speech.

*Verses composed of monosyllabic words*

(33a) The *aippalāda* text of the *Atharva-Veda* records several verses which have been enlisted in the *Vedic word concordance* as monosyllabic sentences. They have so far defied all attempts at understanding in spite of the various emendations suggested by scholars. Some examples are as follows :—

1. kḥe le ha lam ma na sta mi na śce bhaḥ  
pu rā mu taḥ pa thā na tvā ma ma vya  
ta di ho a kṣe vu śm ga va cchi raḥ.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> P.A.V. VI. 84.



2. ye ke ce la ma pāśve śu rvā tṛṇ da mī  
te ni śada lam nṛ pa śrī pā pa te gṛhaḥ.<sup>39</sup>

The verse 'nidhāyo vāḥ nidhāyo vā nidhāyo vā cīn vāḥ om vāḥ om vāḥ e ai om svarṇajyotiḥ'<sup>40</sup> and the like appear to lead to a similar conclusion and also indicate that words resembling in form are different and convey different senses.

*Monosyllabic words in the Mantras*

34. There are about 86 monosyllabic words and their forms used in the *Ṛg-Veda*. There are several other such words used in the other Samhitās and Śākhā texts but not found in the *Ṛg-Veda*.

*Evidence of the Pada text*

35. There are many other monosyllabic words which are separated by the author of the *Padapāṭha* either as the first part or as the second part of a word and which but for some have not been used independently in the *Ṛg-Veda*. Prof. Macdonell has held that the Pada text separates only such words as are used independently.<sup>41</sup> If this were true in all cases (including the second members of the words) even such syllables as bhiḥ and bhyaḥ which now serve as case-endings only would also fall in the category of independent words. The author of the *Padapāṭha* comes at a very late stage in the development of Vedic language and literature. It may also be noted that Gārgya, the author of the Pada text of the *Sāma-Veda* separates each word of that text. As for example he has analysed mitraḥ and sakhā as mi-traḥ and sa-khā. Analysis of adya,

<sup>39</sup> *ibid*, XI. 7.2.

<sup>40</sup> *Mai. S.* IV. 9.224. It can also be a Sāman.

<sup>41</sup> *VR. PP.* 33. Also see *Ve.La.* I, 2/4 (ii). He has stated this with reference to the first member of a word. His note on *idūdarah* on P. 60 may also be seen.



anye, ahānī, dūrāt and usriyāḥ into a-dya, an-ye, a-hanī, duḥ-āt, and u-sriyāḥ respectively is specially noteworthy.<sup>41a</sup>

### *Evidence of Independent Svarita*

36. The independent circumflex accent also throws some light on the problem. It has been held, as is indicated by the requirements of metre, that the independent circumflex accent 'is in reality always an enclitic accent following an Udātta, though it assumes the appearance of an independent accent when the preceding Udātta is lost by euphonic change of a vowel into the corresponding semivowel.'<sup>42</sup> When this euphonic combination is removed many monosyllabic words commencing with a vowel come to light. The formation of these words is vowel-consonant or merely a vowel.

37. This analysis also brings to light the precursors of many words and indicates that originally case-endings were not fused with the stems.

38. A few examples are given below:

अथुर्यः—अथुरि+अः  
 अनुक्यात्—अनुकि+आत्  
 अपिकुक्ष्यम्—अपिकुक्षि+अम्  
 अर्या—अरि+आ  
 तन्वी—तन्वि+ई (or तनु+ई)  
 द्र्यक्—द्रि+यक्  
 सुध्यक्—सुध्रि+अक्  
 क्व—कु+अ

39. Words like क्व and मनुष्य forcibly lead us to conclude that originally they were ku, a and manuṣi, a. Now they have become indivisible words.

<sup>41a</sup> These examples have been taken from Pt. Bhagavadatta's *HVL.*, Vol II. Also see *Vedabhāṣa* 9/3.

<sup>42</sup> *VGr.* P. 448.



*Words bearing double accent originally separate words*

40. Both the parts—the radical base and the suffix of words like *étavái*, *sártavai* and *apabhártavái* bearing two acute must have at one time been used as separate words which have come to be used together without losing their individuality. The *Devatā-Dvandva* compounds like *मित्रावरुणा* and *चक्रावृष्टिनी*, both the members of which bear the *Udātta* accent and are used separately also afford ample support to this conclusion. Thus *e*, *sar* and *bhar* *añ* become independent monosyllabic words.

*Evidence of the Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta*

41. The *Nighaṇṭu* has recorded fifty two monosyllabic Vedic words. Of these nine words—*tuk*, *psuḥ*, *baṭ*, *viṭ*, *vṛk*, *śu*, *śūḥ*, *sīm* and *sut*—do not appear to have been used independently in the *R̥g-Veda*.

42. *Yāska* has analysed scores of words into their syllables and has explained those syllables as independent words with reference to their roots. Etymologies of *kāṣṭhā*, *śmaśru*, *mēnāḥ* (*me-nāḥ*), *yakṛt*, *rakṣas*, *vṛkaḥ*, *nīṣṛmbhā*, *śruṣṭi*, *urāṇaḥ*, *stipā*, *ilībīśasya* *mateya*, *kaśā*, *ṛbhu* and others may be referred to.

*Evidence of metres*

43. Use of metres in the *R̥g-Veda* also throws some light on the problem. It has been observed that many times the metrical pause falls in the middle of a word. This results in the emergence of monosyllabic words in some cases. It also indicates that the same words which are familiar to us as one single whole were originally two words. The following examples may be observed:—

*R̥g.* VIII. 71.1

ag-ne

*R̥v.* VII. 51.2

áva-se

V. 7.9.

ás-ti

I. 1.1

de-vām

VIII. 71.1

vísva-syā

ra-tna

V. 7.9

sar-piḥ



44. Sometimes one syllable of a word falls in one foot and the other in another foot.<sup>43</sup> For Example

yás, min in *Rv.* II.2.11; and kṛṣṭí, śuccā in *Rv.*

II.2.10.

45. Often words have to be pronounced by removing internal euphonic combination which according to the formation of the word according to Pāṇini's grammar sometimes does not exist there. This again leads to mono-syllabic words: For example—

asuryám (*VR.* P. 63) is read as asurí-am (fr. asura-ya), *V.* II.33.9. tvám (*VR.* P. 6) is read as tú-am (fr. yuṣmad changed into tva) *RV.* I.1.6. parastád (*VR.* P. 115) is read as parastá-ād (fr. paraḥ-tātil) *RV.* VI. 54.10.

46. The Metre of *RV.* X. 93.9—

“कृधी नो अह्नयो देव सवितुः स च स्तुषे मुघोनाम् ।

सुहो न इन्द्रो वह्निमिन्द्र्योषां चर्षणीनां चक्रं रुमि न योयुवे ॥”

has been named as akṣaraiḥ pañktiḥ, which when properly put in this metre will consist of eight feet of five syllables each. It will read as follows :

| Feet/Syllables | 1          | 2       | 3      | 4    | 5    |
|----------------|------------|---------|--------|------|------|
| 1.             | कृ         | धी      | नो     | अ    | ह्*  |
| 2.             | यो         | दे      | व      | स    | वि*  |
| 3.             | तुः        | स       | च      | स्तु | षे   |
| 4.             | मु         | घो      | नाम् । | सु   | हो   |
| 5.             | न          | इन्द्रो | वह्नि  | व    | मि*  |
| 6.             | मिन्द्र्यो | षां     | च      | च    | र्ष* |
| 7.             | णी         | नां     | च      | क्रं | रु-* |
| 8.             | मि         | न       | यो     | यु   | वे॥  |

It will be noted that syllables of five different words (marked with asterik) fall in different feet and that the first half of the verse ends in the middle of the fourth foot where also

<sup>43</sup> This treatment is based on the exposition of Vedic metre given by Dr. A.A. Macdonell in his *Vedic Grammar for Students* and his notes in his *Vedic Reader*.



begins the second part of the verse. This division would become ridiculous in the light of Jaimini's statement 'yātrārthavaśena pādavyavasthā (sā ṛk) and in case the words in the verse were polysyllabic.

47. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*<sup>44</sup> has declared 'sumatvadvagdaḥ' as akṣarapañkti chandas. These are five syllables—five monosyllabic words according to Sāyaṇa. Each of them signifies Brahma. This Brāhmaṇa has divided the words śakmanā and purandhyā as śa, kmanā and puram, dhyā and appears to regard them as four different words.<sup>45</sup> The word dhyāyā in RV. IV. 36.2 indicates that 'dhyā' was an independent word. The words vṛtrāṇi and samaryarājye have been divided as vṛtrā, ṇi and sama, rya, rājye.<sup>46</sup> Other words have been placed between vṛtrā and ṇi and sama and rya. These verses (RV. IX. 110-1-3) containing these words have been called Prapada.<sup>47</sup> The additional words referred to above do not appear in the text of the *Rg-Veda*.

48. The word 'pāvaka' is read as 'pavāka' in the *Rg-Veda*. There appears to be no justification for writing it as 'pāvaka' unless it is assumed that the meanings of both pāvaka and pavāka are desired in the passages concerned. This assumption will lead to a monosyllabic division of the word as pā-va-ka and pa-vā-ka.

#### *Use of Indeclinables, Prepositions and Suffixes as Nouns*

49. The use of 'asattva' in Pāṇini's aphorism 'cādayo-sattve'<sup>48</sup> and its repetition in the next aphorism 'prādayah' indicates that the words included in both these classes were used as nouns also. The 'cādi' class contains thirty two and the 'Prādi' class eleven monosyllabic words. Among the *Cādi* words 'rai' is a noun also. 'Tum' is the suffix

<sup>44</sup> AB. II. 24 and Sāyaṇa's commentary on it.

<sup>45</sup> *ibid.* VIII. 11.

<sup>46</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *ibid.*, VIII. 10.

<sup>48</sup> P. I.4.57.



'tumun' (infinitive sign). 'Can' is also a suffix. 'Nañ' assumes the forms of na, an and a in negative compounds. Words from 'a' to 'au' are pure vowels. Use of 'suṣṭhū' as an adjective and of 'paśu' and 'śukam' as nouns is well known. Some of the words in *Prādi* class have been assigned senses in the Brāhmaṇa works which indicate that they were considered to be nouns. Some such examples have already been cited above.<sup>49</sup> Some words of this class have been used in their reduplicated form, which are regarded as one word and analysed by the Pada text by an *avagraha* sign (e.g., pra-pra). Some bear affixes like 'vat (matup)' as in 'pravatā' and 'udvatā'.

50. In one verse Macdonell has translated 'pra' as 'pre-eminent' and has taken it as an adjective of Mitra.<sup>50</sup>

51. In verses 5 to 7 of the *Atharva-Veda* V. 6 all words are the same except the first word of each verse. These first words of these three verses are 'nú', 'áva' and 'ápa'. Griffith considers these verses unintelligible. He has taken 'ava' and 'apa' as prepositions to the verb 'arātsiḥ', and 'nu' in the sense of 'now'. If he had known that these could also be nouns it might have been possible for him to give some intelligible translation.

52. Forms of 'apraṭi' in the *R̥g-Veda* indicate that 'prati' compounded with 'nañ' has been used in the masculine and neuter genders.

53. The *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* uses 'ām, vim, pram, dam, 'śam' which are Accusative singular forms of 'ā, vi, pra, dá' and 'śa'.<sup>51</sup>

54. Ham, i, im (in *inkāra* and *inkṛta*) have been used in *Saṃhitā* and *Śākhā* texts.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>49</sup> See Para 32 above.

<sup>50</sup> *RV.* III. 59.2 (*VR.* PP. 80).

<sup>51</sup> *Tait. Up.* I.4. The commentator is inconsistent in his constructions. He takes first three words in one way and the last two in another way. The last two words are the key to the construction of the first three words.

<sup>52</sup> Also cf. *VD.*, PP. 19-20 on u, um, su, sum, hu, hum.



55. The problem of 'accent of verbs in the verses 'ayám yāḥ sómo nyádhyyasmé'<sup>53</sup> and 'antásca prāgā ádīr-bhavāsi'<sup>54</sup> would disappear as soon as 'ni' and 'pra' are taken as nouns and adjectives.

*Some monosyllabic bases inferred from Vedic words*

56. In 'ā-yái' 'yai' appears to be Dative singular of 'i' (like mati). It can also be an infinitive form of 'ya'.

57. A careful analysis of 'yaḥ, yat, yatra, yataḥ, yathā, yadā, yam points to the radical base 'yā'; of 'yā, yām, yābhiḥ, yābhyām' and 'yābhyah' to 'yā'; of 'yan, yanti, yantu, yantam; and 'yantave' to √yan; of 'yaya, yayathuḥ, yayuḥ, and 'yayau' to √yay; of 'tyam, tyasya, tyān,' and 'tyāḥ' to 'tya' and so on. These examples can be multiplied and are too obvious to escape notice.

58. A comparison of the following groups would indicate the existence of the radical bases a,s,as,sa and asa: a) ási and asi. (b) staḥ stām (c) ásti, ástu (d) santu (e) asasi.

It appears that all these five bases came to be used by the combination of 'a' and 's' in all possible ways.

59. The vowels 'e' and 'ai' have also been used independently as nouns.<sup>55</sup> On the other hand the radical base √e is quite evident in the words 'éti, etu, etām, étam, étana, éyāt' and 'éyuḥ'.

60. The noun 'e' appears to have been combined with 'na' (found in yat-na and yaj-na) to form 'ena' signifying 'addressed one'. This word is indicated in the uses 'ená, enát, enám, enáyoh' and 'enā'. In the *Rg-Veda* it is a name of Indra—

"असाम यथा सुषुखाय एन स्वमिष्टयो नरांश्च शंसः।"<sup>56</sup>

<sup>53</sup> RV. VIII. 48.10 (VR. P. 161).

<sup>54</sup> RV. VIII. 48.2 (VR. P. 156).

<sup>55</sup> VPK. VI/1023, ftn. h takes 'e' as Vocative indeclinable and refers to *Tait. Ar.* IV. 40.1 and Sāyana's commentary there. But Sāyana has translated it as 'he devate' :

<sup>56</sup> RV. I. 173.9 with Sāyana's gloss. Also see *Vedābhāṣa*. IV/59-61.



*Gradual development of case-endings*

61. There are many words in the *R̥g-Veda* which are used without case-endings. In some words development of case-endings is quite obvious. There are some words which have no declensional sign. This sign has been taken to have disappeared (lupta), as, e.g., singular forms of the subjective case of words ending in 'i' (neut.), 'u' (neut.), 'ī' (Fem.) and certain words ending in consonants. Words of *Cādi* and *Prādi* class have also been used without case-endings. Case-endings have gradually developed in *asmāka*, *tūbhya* and *vyóman* to form *asmākam*, *tūbhyam* and *vyómani*. *Asmayú* (Rv. X. 93.14—mas. Nom.) has developed into *asmayúḥ* and *asmáyavaḥ* (in plural). *Ghr̥ṇīva* has been analysed as *ghr̥ṇi-iva* by the Pada text in Rv. II. 33.6. Macdonell takes it Instrumental singular. Obviously the case ending is missing.

*Gradual development of words by addition of syllables*

62. There are certain words which unmistakably indicate even to a casual reader that they have developed by the addition of syllables in different stages. As for example the following words may be noted.

63. *Tma-tman-ātman*. The following pairs may be compared: (i) *tman-ātman*; (ii) *tmanam-ātmānam*; (iii) *tmanā-ātmana*; (iv) *tmani-ātmani*; (v) *tmane-ātmane*.

Forms of 'ātman' are much fewer in the *R̥g-Veda* in comparison to the forms of 'tman'. Prof. Macdonell has rightly stated that the forms of 'ātman' have just begun to be used in the *R̥g-Veda*.<sup>57</sup> The use of 'tmau'<sup>58</sup> indicates that 'tman' itself developed out of 'tma.'

<sup>56a</sup> This word should be taken as Nominative singular as an *Upamāna* of 'arapāh.'

<sup>57</sup> *VR*. PP. 128.

<sup>58</sup> *P. AV*. V. 21.7. *VPK*. VII. 1502 ftn. 1 suggests that it should be read as 'asau'. His suggestion is unnecessary.



*Śyā-śyāma*

64. 'Śyāparṇa' has been translated as 'śyāmaparṇa'. Viśva Bandhu Śāstri suggests its emendation as 'śyāmaparṇa'. But the words 'śyām' and 'śyā' have been used in Śākhā texts.<sup>59</sup> The word 'śyā' both acute and enclitic is also found in the words 'śyāvam, śyāvām, syāvāya' and 'śyāvāya'. The forms 'ántama' and 'antamá' of 'anta' indicate that there was a radical base or a syllable 'ma' which was both acute and enclitic and which was added to words without changing their meanings. The addition of the acute 'ma' to 'śyā' resulted in the formation of the word 'śyāma' by a shift of accent or there might have been two words 'śyámá' and 'śyáma' out of which only one has survived.

*Ayā-anayā*

65. Sāyaṇa has explained 'ayā' as 'anayā'. It is clear that 'anayā' has developed from 'ayā' by adding 'na' in the middle. This 'ayā' appears to have been formed by the combination of 'a' and 'ya + ā' or 'yā'. Its original meaning would be 'this-which', i.e., 'this'. In due course it came to be used in the Instrumental case.

*Ap-apsú-áp-ápa*

66. These words have been used in the same sense in the *Ṛg-Veda*. All have been regarded forms of 'apas'.

67. 'Ap' is indicated in the words 'ápāḥ, apā, apám' and 'apsú'. This 'ap' developed into 'apsú' by the addition of 'su' keeping the original sense unaltered. Both 's' and 'u' are separate bases. This new word has been used in *apsuḥśítāḥ, apsucarā, apsujáh, apsujít, apsudhauṭasya, apsumát, apsumátīḥ, apsuyogáḥ, apsúyonīḥ, apsuavāhaḥ* and 'apsuśád'. VPK. has taken it as locative singular of

<sup>59</sup> *Tāi.* S. V. 7. 20.1; *Kāṭh.* S. 53.10; *PAV.* VI. 14.7.

<sup>60</sup> *RV.* II. 6.2.



'ap' which retains its case-ending in the compound.<sup>61</sup> Sāyana also holds the same view. Dayānanda and others follow suit. But 'apsavyāḥ' 'apsavāḥ' and 'apsavyai' have been used in the *Maitrāyaṇī* and the *Kāṭhaka Samhitās*. VPK. has formed them by adding 'yat' to 'apsu' in the sense of 'tatra bhavaḥ'.<sup>62</sup>

68. There are five verses in the *Atharva Veda* differing only in one word which is different in each of them.<sup>63</sup> These words are 'brahmayogaḥ, kṣatrayogaḥ, indravayogaḥ, somayogaḥ' and 'apsuyogaḥ'. By a comparison of these compounds one is easily led to think that 'apsu' may also be a base without any declensional sign. The *Paiṅgalāda Atharva Veda* uses the word 'spām yogaḥ' in its place. This 'apām' is reflected in the compound 'apām napāt'. On the analogy of 'apsu' this word also appears to be a separate base<sup>64</sup>.

69. This 'ap' appears to have developed into 'āpa' by adding 'ā' in the beginning and 'a' at the end. The form 'āpasya' has been used in the *Sāma Veda*.<sup>65</sup> VPK.<sup>66</sup> has formed it by adding 'an' in the sense of 'collection, multitude' and has compared it with the classical use 'āpa-gā'. Stevenson has translated it as 'sacrificial waters.' The Nominative Plural form 'āpaḥ' meaning 'waters' indicates that the precursor of 'āpa' might have been 'āp'.

70. The combination 'ap' must have had other senses also which have given rise to words like 'apna, apnavān,' and 'apnas'.

### *Apā—apās—āpa*

71. Sāyana has explained 'apāsu' in the *R̥g-Veda*<sup>67</sup> as a Vedic form of 'apaḥsu'.<sup>68</sup> VPK.<sup>69</sup> has accepted this

<sup>61</sup> VPK. I. 266; ftn. g.    <sup>62</sup> *ibid*, ftn. h.    <sup>63</sup> *AV.* X. 5. 1-5.

<sup>64</sup> *PAV.* XVI. 127.5. The problem posed by VPK. is resolved as soon as 'apām' is taken as a base without the genitive case.

<sup>65</sup> *Sām.* 165.; *J. Sām.* IV. 17.11.    <sup>66</sup> VPK. I. 265 ftn. a.

<sup>67</sup> *R̥g.* VIII. 4.14.    <sup>68</sup> Cf. *PMBh.*    <sup>69</sup> VPK. I. 270 ftn. g.



position and has rejected Roth's contemplation of a different base 'apa'.

72. 'Apāh'<sup>70</sup> has been explained as 'action, deed' and has been taken as neuter singular by Sāyaṇa and Dayānanda. Veṅkaṭa Mādhava has rendered it by 'for water'. VPK. has placed it under 'lāp (karma)'<sup>71</sup>. But this cannot give the form 'apāh' in any number and case in view of its accent.<sup>72</sup> It, therefore, appears that 'apá' is an independent base which is accented on its final syllable. This yields the forms 'apāh' and 'apāsu'. Probably 'apa' is another form of this base which has been used without any case-ending, as, e.g., in the following verse:

“उदीर्ध्वं जीवो असुन् आगदप् प्रागुत्तम् आ ज्योतिरेति।”<sup>73</sup>

Sāyaṇa's construction is 'apa prāgādapakrāntam' and Dayānanda's is 'tamo'paiti'—'night vanishes'. Now take 'apa' as a noun meaning 'apāna', a vital air of the body.<sup>74</sup> The construction will be—'udīrdhvam. Jīvaḥ asuḥ (ca naḥ āgāt. apa prāgāt. ā jyotiḥ tamaḥ eti'. This solves the problem of double preposition to the verb 'agāt' and the consequent problem of double accent.

73. 'S' another independent radical base appears to have been associated with the first 'apá' yielding a new base 'apás' forms of which are frequently met with in the Śmhitās.

*dbuta—adbhuta*

74. The word 'ānatidbhutā'<sup>74a</sup> consists of two parts—'anati (nañ + ati) and dbhutā'. VPK. has connected it with 'adbhuta'. Sāyaṇa explains it by 'existence'. The

<sup>70</sup> RV. I. 151.4.

<sup>71</sup> VPK. I. 258.

<sup>72</sup> VPK's objection to Sāyaṇa's explanation thus appears to apply to his own position. Vide *ibid.* ftn. h.

<sup>73</sup> RV. I. 113.16.

<sup>74</sup> Just as 'pra' means 'prāṇa' which here is indicated by the word 'asuḥ' so 'apa' can be taken to mean 'apāna' which fits well in the verse.

<sup>74a</sup> RV. VIII. 90. 3.



word appears to mean 'not very extraordinary'. The word 'dbhuta', therefore, can be regarded as the precursor of 'adbhuta', which form has developed by the addition of 'an initial 'a' just as 'ātman' has developed from 'tman'. The U. V. 1 derives it from 'ad, √ bhū and uta suffix'. Here 'ad' might be a combination of 'a' and 'd' and the earlier form might have been 'd'.

75. Tendency to add vowels to words beginning with consonants is found in Greek also, e.g., cp.

| Skt.    | Gr.           |                       |
|---------|---------------|-----------------------|
| bhrū    | ó φ ρ υ' s    | (ophros)              |
| rudhira | é ρ υ ω ρ ó s | (eruthros)            |
| star    | á σ τ η' ρ    | (aster) <sup>75</sup> |

This phenomenon of Prothesis is found in other languages also including the modern and middle Indo-Aryan languages. Thus

| Skt.      | Avesta.                   |
|-----------|---------------------------|
| riṇákti   | irinahti                  |
| riṣyati   | irisyei-ti                |
| rōpayanti | urūpayeinti <sup>76</sup> |

Examples of other I. E. languages can be gathered from books on linguistics and comparative studies on particular languages.

a.yu

76. Compare the following pairs:—

1. asma and yuṣma; 2. asmā and yuṣmā 3. as-māka and yuṣmāka; 4. asme and yuṣme.

After eliminating the common classifiers only 'a' and 'yu' remain which respectively mean 'we' and 'you'. Now compare the following words :

<sup>74</sup> A. S. Diamond, *History and Origin of Language*, P. 13, ftn. 2.

<sup>76</sup> P. D. Gune, *An Introduction to Comparative Philology*, 1958, P. 145.



- (a) (i) *asmábyhyam*; *asmábhyaḥ*; *asmatrá*; *asmatráñcaḥ*; *asmadryák*; *asmadryáñcaḥ*; *asmadhrík*.  
 (ii) *asmān*; *asmābhiḥ*, *asmāsu*; *asmāt*;<sup>77</sup> *asmān*.  
 (iii) *asmāka*; *asmākāsaḥ*; *asmākam*; *asmākena*; *asmākebhiḥ*.
- (b) (i) *yuṣmát*; *yuṣmábhyam*; *yuṣmayántiḥ*  
 (ii) *yuṣmā-īṣitaḥ*; *yuṣmā-ūtaḥ*; *yuṣmādattasya*; *yuṣmān*; *yuṣmānī taḥ*; *yuṣmābhiḥ*; *yuṣmāvatsu*.  
 (iii) *yuṣmāka*; *yuṣmākam*; *yuṣmākena*; *yuṣmākā*; *yuṣmākebhiḥ*.

This comparison indicates that 'a' and 'yu' have developed as follows:

a-asmá—asmā. . asmāka-asmāke (?)

yu-yuṣmá-yuṣmā-yuṣmāka-yuṣmāke(?)

'Asme' and 'yuṣme' also may have developed out of 'a' and 'yu' through 'asma' and 'yuṣma'.

*Sá-sā-saká-só*

77. Use of 'sáḥ'—'he' is well known. By adding the feminine suffix 'ā', this yields 'sā'—'she'.

78. Use of suffix 'ka' with no signification is familiar to all. Addition of this 'ka' with feminine 'ā' yields 'sakā' translated by 'sā' by Sāyaṇa.<sup>78</sup> Both 'saká' and 'sakā' have also been compounded with 'nañ'.

79. 'Sā' yields 'só' by the addition of 'u' which is another base in the *Ṛg-Veda*. The Pada text treats it as a single word. Sāyaṇa has taken it as a combination of 'sā' and 'u' and has taken the whole word as a 'Nipāta'.<sup>79</sup> Dayānanda has explained it by 'sā'.

*Yá-yā-yakā-yaká-yó*

80. The development of these words from the radical base 'ya' can be easily traced in the same way.

<sup>77</sup> Now a days this word is associated with 'idam' and not with 'asmad'.

<sup>78</sup> *RV. I.* 191.11.

<sup>79</sup> But op. his note on 'yo' in *RV. V.* 79.3—'yo ya, ukaro, 'narthakah'.



*Tát-tadā*

81. 'Tát' has often been translated by 'tadā—then' indicating that it has developed into 'tadā' by the addition of 'ā' at the end.

*Bhāga—bhāgavān*

82. The passage 'bhāga evā bhāgavān astu'<sup>80</sup> indicates that 'bhāga' means 'bhāgavān' and *vice-versa*. 'Vān' has, therefore, been added to it without any signification.

83. In the same way development of 'āntakam' and 'āntamam' from 'āntam' by adding 'ka' and 'ma' before the final consonant; of 'antamā' in 'antamāsyā' from 'antāḥ' by adding acute 'mā'; of 'anyaké' and 'anyát' from 'anyāḥ'; of 'āmatih' from 'āmaḥ'; of 'amātiḥ' from 'amāḥ' (now lost); of 'amativā' from 'amāti' 'āmati' by adding acute 'vā' resulting in loss of acute accent in the original word; of 'āmatra' and 'amatin' from 'āma' and of hundreds of other words can be easily worked out.

*Some Classifiers*

84. Now compare the following eight words listed by the *Nighaṇṭu* in 'Uttarapada-sarva-pada-samāmnāyah':—<sup>81</sup>

|              |       |         |
|--------------|-------|---------|
| híkam—āhíkam | ākīm  | —ná kīm |
| núkam        | nākiḥ |         |
| súkam        | mākiḥ |         |

It is evident that these words have been constructed by adding kam to hí, mú, sú and āhí (ā + hí);

kiḥ to ná and mā ;

kīm to ná.

Yāska's nomenclature of these words indicates that he considers them as nouns (sattvapradhāna).

85. 'kam, kiḥ, kīm' here appear to be classifiers as are found in Chinese or they can be taken as suffixes without

<sup>80</sup> AV. III. 16.5.




<sup>81</sup> Nigh, III. 12.



any signification. A classifier in Chinese is also added just to bring out clearly the sense of the word to which it is added.

*Expression of abstract ideas in a monosyllabic language*

86. In Chinese abstract ideas are expressed by combining two pictures. For example, the idea of "bright-ness" is expressed by putting together the sun

 and moon  forming the character .<sup>82</sup>

87. As will be evident from the division of words like 'akṣara, hr̥dayam, om, udgītham' and 'sāma', from the meanings of their syllables and their collective meanings the method of expressing abstract ideas by the Chinese was also followed by the Vedic people. This sort of grouping for obtaining new words and senses was called 'mithuna-prakriyā' by the Aryans. It will be briefly treated later on.

*Expression of actions*

88. In monosyllabic languages, as e.g., in Chinese, two verbs are combined to yield one single idea, e.g., 'chih' (jirr) to know and 'tao' (dau) to arrive are combined to mean 'to know'. 'There are many verbs formed in this way; the second part indicating that the "goal" of the verbal action has been reached.'<sup>83</sup> In another practice the same verb is repeated with an insertion of 'i' in between the two members, e.g., 'k' an (can) to see is developed into 'k' an i k 'an' (can-i-can).

89. An analysis of Vedic roots or verbal radical bases worked out on the basis of a comparative and analytical study of vedic words indicate that they might have been invented on the above two principles. As, e.g., the

<sup>82</sup> See Simple Chinese Conversation, J. M. Huihur, P. 3.

<sup>83</sup> TYC., P. 30, note below no. 5.



√yā is a combination of √ya to go and of √ā to come<sup>83a</sup> (now used as an indeclinable or as a preposition only) to yield the sense of 'going'. So is the case with √gā which is a combination of √ga and √ā; √dā to give is from √da to give and √ā to come, to approach, to reach. √ka to derive pleasure and √ma to go, to create, to show etc., were combined into √kam to desire; √ca (satisfaction) and √ka (pleasure) yielded √cak to be satisfied; the same syllables meaning 'obstruction (pratirodha)' and 'pleasure' yielded the same root in the sense of 'pratighāta' (obstruction etc.); √kū is composed of √ku and √u (found in √ñu) both meaning to sound; and √kuh to astonish is formed from √ku to sound and √ha to be astonished (cp. the interjection 'hā'). A man in astonishment becomes inactive and perplexed for sometime (cf. the √hā to abandon).

90. The root √yay is a duplicated form of √ya; √i is from √i+√i; √ṛ is from √ṛ+√ṛ with a change of conjugational class. The roots √kak, √khakha, √ghagh, √jaj, √dad and several others have obviously been formed by duplicating the original radical monosyllabic bases √ka, √kha, √gha, √ja, and √da.

#### *Accent.*

91. Accent occupies a very important place in the Vedic language. Most of the Veda and Śākhā Samhitās and some Brāhmaṇas bear accent marks. The Samhitās are recited in some parts of India even today in accordance with these accent marks.

92. Accent occupies an important place in Greek language also. In a monosyllabic language it is of undeniable importance. It is, in fact, indispensable there. It becomes extremely difficult to express different meanings of the same syllable without its aid. If the vedic language

<sup>83a</sup> Cf. the Hindi Verbs—ājā meaning 'come', khājā meaning 'eat' and the like which are combinations of two verbs—one main and the other secondary or complementary one signifying motion.



was once monosyllabic, as surmised above, account must have played a very important and effective role and would have been employed profusely.

93. "The tones in Chinese are inflections of the voice and the particular inflection of the voice when pronouncing a word determines the meaning. To put the matter in another way, tones serve the purpose of distinguishing one word from another.<sup>84</sup>

94. "The number of tones in Chinese varies from four in the Pekinese dialect to as many as twelve in some of the Cantonese dialect.<sup>85</sup> . . . Five tones are recognised in . . . Mandarin. . . In pronouncing this National language, the five tones of the old Mandarin are still current. It is true that the tendency is for the "Ju Shāng" (Riu shanga) (entering or the fifth tone) to die out. But it is still in common use in many parts of China. . . .

95. "The names of the (five) tones are

- |                       |                    |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Shang p'ing Shēng, | or Upper even.     |
| 2. Hsia P'ing Shēng,  | or Lower even.     |
| 3. Shang Shēng,       | or Rising tone.    |
| 4. Ch' ú Shēng,       | or Departing tone. |
| 5. Ju Shēng,          | or Entering tone.  |

(These) tones alter in different combinations, and also that they vary considerably in different parts of China."<sup>86</sup>

96. It is evident from an analysis of this note of Prof. Williamson that the same syllable appears in the form of different words and signifies different meanings according to the inflection of voice with which it is sounded. Thus if it were possible to indicate all voice inflections the same syllable would be written in different ways and would express its meanings directly, i.e., by Abhidhā. Since the written form has its limitations and cannot depict

<sup>84</sup> H. R. Williamson, *TYC.*, P. 27.

<sup>85</sup> *ibid.*, P. 262.

<sup>86</sup> *ibid.*, PP. 27-28. Also see Dialogue no. 30, PP. 262-269.



all the shades of difference brought about by accent or tone several words appear to have the same form and thus appear to be one and the same. The confusion arising out of this phenomenon will be treated later on.<sup>87</sup>

97. It appears that there were a similar variety of accents in the Vedic language also since as will soon be seen the Udātta, Anudātta and Svarita accents in their present form are, perhaps, of comparatively recent origin. These words have not been used in either of the four Veda Samhitās or their Śākhā texts known so far. The word 'svaritasya' has been used once only in the *aippalāda* text of the *Atharva Veda*, where it has been translated as a 'piece or fragment of sacrificial post.'<sup>89</sup>

98. These terms do not appear to have been finalised in the age of the Brāhmaṇas. The *Gapatha Brāhmaṇa* records the terms Udātta, Svarita, Udāttodātta and Svaritodātta. It is also stated there that 'om' consisting of one syllable is Svaritodātta in the *R̥g-Veda*, Traisvaryodātta in the *Yajurveda*, Dīrghaplutodātta in the *Sāma Veda* and Hrasvodātta in the *Atharva Veda*. When it is dvipada it is Udāttodātta. The next passage says that the grammarians call it an indeclinable bearing the acute accent.<sup>90</sup>

99. This description mentions four accents which assume other inflections in the case of short, long or elongated vowels. There might have been a larger number of tones at an earlier period when the Vedic language was yet monosyllabic and was spoken as such.

100. Later the *Samhitopaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*<sup>91</sup> uses the terms Udāttatamaḥ and Udāttānudātta. The former term points towards the existence of Udātta and Udāttatara also. The later term indicates the existence of Anudātta. Here Svarita is conspicuous by its absence.

<sup>87</sup> Vide paras 111-112. below.

<sup>89</sup> See VPK. I. 3531, ftn. f.

<sup>90</sup> GB. I. 1.25-26.

<sup>88</sup> PAV. VIII. 15.3.

<sup>91</sup> SUP. Br., D. 3.



101. The *Prāṇavopaniṣad* (Adyar) mentions the term Anudāttodāttadvipadaḥ. Other Upaniṣads published from Adyar mention the terms Udātta and Udāttanudātta.<sup>92</sup>

102. But in the Sūtra literature the present three terms Udātta, Anudātta and Svarita have come to be universally used. Along with some types of Svarita and Anudātta some inflections of Udātta are also mentioned. They are Udāttatarā,<sup>93</sup> Udāttapracita,<sup>94</sup> Udāttasadrṣa and Udāttasadrṣāśruti. The last two appear to be the same terms.

103. This leads to the following inferences :

(a) The present use of the three Vedic accents—acute, enclitic and the circumflex must have been finalised after a long period of development.

(b) Originally the number of tones was more than three and that their names were also different.

(c) The various tones would have been used to vary the same word or syllable to express different senses.

(d) Accents of words appear to have varied with different schools, traditions and in different parts of the country. Some reminiscences of this fact are found in words bearing different accents but agreeing in sense. Some examples are given below :

|            |               |            |             |
|------------|---------------|------------|-------------|
| ātūrtam    | Rv. VIII.99.7 | atūrtam    | Rv. V.25.5. |
| ádbhutasya | I.77.3        | adbhutasya | I.120.4.    |
| ádharāt    | X.42.11.      | adharāt    | X.27.15.    |
| asmāt      | X.117.4       | asmāt      | X.98.12     |
| iṣaḥ       | I.3.1         | Iṣaḥ       | I.163.7 .   |
| kádā       | I.84.20       | kadā       | I.25.5. .   |
| gávyā      | VI.44.12.     | gavyā      | V.79.7      |
| gúhā       | I.67.2        | guhā       | I.67.3.     |
| citraḥ     | VIII.21.18    | citrāḥ     | I.48.11.    |
| chandáh    | VI.11.3.      | chándah    | VIII.52.1.  |

<sup>92</sup> *Prāṇavopaniṣad* 34.18.

<sup>93</sup> RV. Pr. III. 4.

<sup>94</sup> AV. Par. 34.1.3.

<sup>95</sup> *Kaushali Śikṣā*, 6; 7. (Vide VPK.)



Members of some of these pairs belong to different *Māṇḍalas*. The last six pairs indicate that they originated from bases that were both acute and enclitic. There is one word—*śvaḥ*—in the *R̥g-Veda* which bears all the three accents in different places. This phenomenon leads to two positions :

1. Either the same translation of a word bearing two different accents is wrong in view of the importance of accent in changing the meaning of words and in distinguishing different words having the same form.
2. Or by the time of the *R̥g-Veda* the accent had acquired a secondary place in expressing difference in the meanings of words.

104. When a language tends to become polysyllabic and abandons its monosyllabic form it undergoes several changes. Many old peculiarities disappear and new ones appear. Accent is, perhaps, the worst sufferer since in the new form differences in words and meanings are indicated by various types of prefixes and suffixes. It, therefore, loses much of its importance. It was, thus, natural that the richness of accent in the Vedic language disappeared in due course and came to be limited to three tones. This limitation of Vedic accents must have been a potent factor in the disappearance of the various differences in tones in different schools where differences in pronunciation must have been wide but which are now limited.

#### *Marking of accent in the Vedic texts*

105. When the Vedic verses were orally memorized knowledge of the various inflections of voice was obtained from actual pronunciation. The problem of indicating accents on words would have arisen with the origin and development of writing Sanskrit alphabet. Since the pronunciation indicating accent varied with difference in meaning due to the use of a word or sentence in different contexts it was no easy task to denote the accents in the written



form. The unaccented portions of the *Paippalāda Atharva Veda*, the *Jaiminīya Sāma Veda*, the *Kāṭhaka Samhitā* and some *Brāhmaṇas* indicate that marking of accent in Vedic texts was not universally prevalent. It may be that originally it was not indicated in the written texts.

106. With the passage of time and with the decline in vedic learning some teacher might have devised the system of marking accents and employed it in his editions as an aid to memory and in order to give a definite meaning to certain words and passages. This would have been followed by others and would have come to be used widely in course of time. During this period accentuation was marked in most of the works and it has come down to us. In Greek too where accent is considered by some to play an important part accents "were not written originally. . . . They were introduced by an Alexandrian grammarian to guide foreigners in pronunciation."<sup>96</sup> This language was understood by Plato and Euripides without accent marks and is also intelligible today without them.<sup>97</sup>

107. This conclusion is also supported by Pāṇini's rule enjoining ekaśruti in uttering vedic verses (with the exception of some) employed while performing a sacrifice. The difference in the accent at least of the following words of the *R̥g-Veda* also points out to difference of interpretation or at least a difference in pronunciation in two different schools.

Śākalya's reading—*raśmīn yāmitavaí-iva* (रश्मीन् यमितवैइव), Dayānanda's reading—*raśmīn yāmtiavaí-iva*. (रश्मीन् यमितवैइव). In Dayānanda's reading 'śmīn' bears the sign of an independent svarita and 'mi' in place of 'ya' bears the udātta accent.<sup>98</sup>

A comparison of Śākhā texts with their main texts from

<sup>96a</sup> e.g., See *AB*. II. 31 On *RV*. III. 13.6.

<sup>96b</sup> *Smith and Melluish*, *TYG.*, P. xi.

<sup>97</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> *RV*. I. 28.4. Also see *Vedabbāpa*. 29/31.



the point of view of accent might reveal some other cases of this type.

108. The word 'rājyam' in the *Atharva Veda* has three forms from the point of view of accent. In one it is accented on the first syllable, in the other on the final syllable and in the third form it bears an independent svarita on the final syllable.—

राज्यम्; राज्यम्; राज्यम्

109. The grammarians have held that accent can be varied since there is irregularity in it (cp. 'vyatyayo bahulaṇī' and its vṛtti). This cannot be possible if the accent had been fixed, traditional and ancient. This was permissible only when it was held that the marked accent was not the only and the final one. A word could also be marked differently; and that there was such a practice of varying accents in explaining vedic texts.<sup>98a</sup>

110. To conclude: Originally there were no accent marks in the vedic texts. Their senses could be varied by pronouncing them or their key words differently. Later on some scholars introduced marking of accents in order to fix the sense of the vedic verses. This marking, however, did not preclude the possibility of (i) either marking the accent in a different way to indicate a different meaning, or (ii) to yield meanings other than those that are yielded by these accent marks. This accent marking, therefore, occupies the position of a sort of help in understanding the text just as Dr. Lakshman Sarup's or any other scholar's punctuation of the text of the *Nirukta* is an aid in understanding the text.

*How the monosyllabic vedic language was understood?*

111. Just as a child terms by one single syllable all objects and actions that come to its notice and which it wants to express by language in the earliest stages of its

<sup>98a</sup> E. g., see AB, II, 41 on RV. III-13-6,



acquiring spoken language; then it uses different syllables for those objects and actions without any distinction and finally expresses them by the word that it learns to speak first (—the process is of course very fast and these three stages are observable for an appreciable time only in a few cases), similarly the earliest man when he began to speak language could not have made any specifications of syllables for various objects. His sound would have acquired differentiation through a long process passing over a long time. This is perhaps referred to by the *Taittirīya Sāhita* when it calls the primeval speech as indistinct.<sup>99</sup> He would have used separate symbols for separate objects after differentiation in sound was originated. This differentiation would have also developed gradually, may be on the lines a child learns to utter various sounds. Here too in the beginning there must have prevailed a great confusion since every man would have used his own symbol for want of an established practice. This would have resulted in the signification of all objects and actions etc. by all the spoken syllables. This position is beautifully depicted by the author of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* in the story of Prajāpati's instruction of the word 'da' to gods, men and demons, who interpreted it in their own way. The gods took it to mean self-control, men to mean charity and the demons to mean mercy upon others.

112. This confusion must have necessitated the employment of other aids like accent, pronunciation from a different organ of speech, order, combination of more than one syllable or base and such other devices as are found in modern monosyllabic languages\* (which are tending slowly towards polysyllabic languages).

<sup>99</sup> TS. VI. 4.7.3 vāgvai parācyavyākṛtā'vadat, te de ā indramabruvannimām no vācam vyākuru iti, ... tāmindo madhyato'vākramya vyākarot.



*From Monosyllabic to Polysyllabic*

113. The necessity of aids to express oneself precisely and distinctly by means of monosyllabic words is responsible for leading a monosyllabic language on the path of polysyllabic one. This journey is accelerated by the progress in physical and mental developments of the society speaking the language. The necessity for expressing more and more abstract and complicated ideas and actions and need for abstruse discussions must have influenced this development. The metaphysical speculations, complicated sacrificial rites and ceremonies would have hastened the step. There is a natural tendency in men to simplify matters. Monosyllabic language must have been extremely complicated and difficult in communication and necessity for the removal of these difficulties must have been felt. Efforts at simplification, therefore, were responsible for evolving the monosyllabic language into a polysyllabic one.

114. The *Ṛg-Veda*<sup>100</sup> observes that Vāk called Gaurī, the creator of the universe becomes monosyllabic, bisyllabic and quadrisyllabic in the evolution (lit. creation) of the cosmic waters. Expressive of thousands of senses (sahasrākṣarā)<sup>101</sup> it tends (babhūvūṣī)<sup>102</sup> to become octosyllabic and nine syllabic. This number of nine does not represent the limit of syllables. It appears to be Upalakṣaṇa. In a sentence-cum-word the number of syllables can be more than nine.

115. This tendency manifests itself in pairing. As already stated this process has been called '*mithuna prakriyā*' in vedic literature. As stated above the word 'sāma' has been formed by a pairing of 'sā' and 'ama'.<sup>103</sup> These

<sup>100</sup> *ṚV.* I. 164.4L.

<sup>101</sup> See Ātmānanda's commentary on *ṚV.* I. 164.41. Vide *R. Dip.* I. 225 ft. 6.

<sup>102</sup> See *Veṅkaṭa Mādhava's gloss on Ṛv.* I. 164.41.

<sup>103</sup> *Av.* XIV. 2.71



'sā' and 'amā' have been explained as husband and wife who in their turn are identified with stanza and chant and with heaven and earth. Just as these pairs unite together, develop and generate, similarly the words 'sā' and 'amā' do. Other syllables follow suit to unite together, develop in their form and sense and generate newer words and senses which again do so in their turn. The original syllable-words and their senses would have yielded innumerable words and senses by the process of permutation and combination employed consciously and unconsciously. This has been explained by the example of the word 'Om'.

116. It is said that there is a union of the pairs of Ṛk and prāṇa and (ii) of ṛk and sāmā in the udgītha 'Om'. These pairs combinedly achieve the desire (i.e. sense) of each other.<sup>104</sup> Whatever is denoted by a syllable all that is an explanation of the word 'Om'. This *Trayī Vidyā* is Om. Om alone is heard, recited or chanted (sung). Whatever is achieved by knowledge, faith and mystry—all that is an explanation of the word 'om'.<sup>105</sup>

117. By this process of pairing the octosyllabic Gāyatrī pairs with Agni and generates the ninth letter Svāhākāra. It then denotes the nine vital airs and the nine quarters. This ninth letter produced the tenth one called Āhuti. The Virāṭ metre having ten syllables thus comes into existence which indicates the ten vital airs and ten quarters.<sup>106</sup>

*Some rules that work in this process of pairing*

118. The later Indian writers have discussed this pairing process under the name 'Samāsa' (compound). The word means brevity. 'It is a device for shortening a long phrase. It is not really words alone that combine with one another in a compound, but their meanings too get so mutually related as to give rise to one qualified idea.

<sup>104</sup> *Ch. Up.* I.1.5-6.

<sup>105</sup> *ibid.* I. 1.9-10.

<sup>106</sup> *ŚB.* VI. 3.1.21.



A word retains its distinct meaning so long as it does not enter into a combination with another, but the moment it does so, it ceases to be an independent word with its particular signification. What we practically find is that a Samāsa, though made up of two or more words, generally produces only one idea in the mind.<sup>107</sup> . . . . The primary condition of Samāsas in general is that words that go to constitute a compound must have reciprocal competency (sāmarthya) for consistent unification.<sup>108</sup>

119. Pāṇini has stated this condition in his Sūtra, 'samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ' which means that only those words can combine together in a Samāsa which are 'mutually expectant and their meaning compatible with each other.' Two or more nouns enter into a 'consistent unification' of their meaning (nāmnām yuktārthaḥ) when they are related to each other as substantive and attributive (viśeṣya-viśeṣasambandhaḥ)—

'Viśeṣyasya viśeṣeṇa militam yuktamucyate.

samāsākhyam tadeva syāttaddhito-tpattireva ca.'

(Durga).<sup>109</sup>

120. As Patañjali has explained, mutual oneness (vypekṣā) and oneness of meaning (ekārthibhāva) are absolutely essential in this sāmarthya or yuktārtha. This competency of words takes the following forms :

1. Their senses may be consistent or mixed up (saṅgatārtha).
2. Their senses may be united (saṃśṛṣṭārtha).
3. Their senses may be visible (sāmprekṣitārtha).
4. Their senses may be connected (sambaddhārtha).

<sup>107</sup> P. C. Chakravarti, *The Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus*, Calcutta, 1933, P. 443.

<sup>108</sup> *ibid*, PP. 443-444.

<sup>109</sup> P. C. Chakravarti, *The Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar*, Calcutta, 1930, P. 282.



The first two forms relate to oneness of meaning (*ekārthībhāva*) and the last two relate to the mutual oneness (*vyapekṣā*) stand-point.<sup>110</sup>

121. It follows from this that two words pair themselves only if they have a mutual connection or compatibility of meanings. Naturally, words which are not grammatically connected with one another but are connected with words that do not form a part of the compound cannot pair themselves. Absence of the proper connection stated here is termed *Sāpekṣatva*.<sup>111</sup>

122. There are some exceptions to it. When a principle word is connected with some other word (as adjective) there is no bar to the pairing of two words—*'bhavati ca pradhānasya sāpekṣasyāpi samāsaḥ.'*<sup>112</sup>

123. There may be some cases where this explanation does not hold good but where the pairing of words have been accepted by popular usage. In such cases the pairing is accepted on account of their power of expressing the intended sense—

*'sāpekṣatve'pi gamakatvāt samāsaḥ.'*<sup>113</sup>

124. The *Samāsa* thus formed is attended with a special significance and is called *vṛtti*. '*Vṛtti* is of two kinds, namely *jahatsvārthā* and *ajahatsvārthā*'. In the first category compounded words cast off their individual meanings and the united whole acquires a special signification. This new meaning is arrived at by denotation (*śakti*) or by implication (*lakṣaṇā*). *Śakti* operates to secure the united meaning (*ekārthībhāva*) and *lakṣaṇā* works in the cases of *vyapekṣā* (mutual connection).<sup>114</sup> However, the words abandon 'only that sense which is found to be inconsistent with the specific signification (*parārthavirodhī*).<sup>115</sup> For

<sup>110</sup> *ibid.*, PP. 282-283.

<sup>111</sup> *ibid.*, P. 284.

<sup>112</sup> *ibid.*, P. 285

<sup>113</sup> *ibid.*, P. 286.

<sup>114</sup> *ibid.*, P. 292.

<sup>115</sup> *ibid.*, P. 294.



example. Take the word 'agni'. It has two parts 'a' and 'gni'. 'a' has several senses; likewise 'gni' appears to have been used in different senses. In such a case 'a' meaning fire combined with 'gni' which retained its meaning 'fire' and discarded others. When 'a' signified speech and paired with 'gni' the latter word retained only that sense which was compatible with speech and paired. In this way the form 'agni' is not one word but combines in itself several words.

125. In the second category—*ajātsvārthā*, the members pairing together continue to retain their separate meanings.<sup>116</sup> For example 'Śukram' explained as 'āśu-karam' retains the meanings of both its members 'śu' and 'karam'.

126. There are certain combinations where the compounded words express twofold meanings:—(i) one meaning is which is denoted by its parts and (ii) the other is as expressed by the whole. The Naiyāyikas call such words *yoga-rūḍha*.<sup>117</sup>

127. According to some a compound is a permanent unit of speech and according to others it is 'only a condensed form of a sentence, or, in other words, a sentence is reduced to a compound-form for the sake of brevity or conciseness.'<sup>118</sup>

128. Any member of a compound—the first, the middle, the final or all the members—can be predominant. In some compounds the sense of another word not forming part of the compound is predominant.<sup>119</sup>

129. Some scholars have classified compounds in two categories only—(i) *anitya* and (ii) *nitya*. *Anitya* (optional) compounds are those where the addition of the case terminations to the members of the compound is sufficient to bring out the sense.<sup>120</sup> In the case of a *nitya* (obli-

<sup>116</sup> *ibid.*, P. 292.

<sup>118</sup> *ibid.*, P. 297.

<sup>120</sup> *ibid.*, p. 305.

<sup>117</sup> *ibid.*, P. 308.

<sup>119</sup> *ibid.*, PP. 303-304.



gatory) Samāsa "its constituents fail to express the intended sense."<sup>121</sup> This class of compounds is not capable of being broken up into parts without necessary change of meanings. They do neither admit of *vigraha* in the usual way, nor are their meanings directly expressed by their component parts, but some other words are required to bring out their signification (*avigraha* or *asvapadavigraha*)."<sup>122</sup> The Brāhmaṇas and the *Nirukta* have often taken recourse to this device of *asvapada-vigraha* in explaining vedic words like *Indra*.

130. In a compound there is (i) only one accent, (ii) the order of its members cannot be changed (iii) no words are allowed to intervene between its members and (iv) nothing expressing case-endings and number etc. can come in between the members of a compound. In some cases the meaning of a compound word is clearer than its explanatory words or sentence and sometimes it is not so.<sup>123</sup>

131. Jagadīśa has pointed out that (i) 'in cases other than those of Nipātas, the meanings of two Nāmans (words) are related to each other as if they were identical,'<sup>124</sup> (ii) if more than two words are combined in a compound it would either be *Dvandva* or *Bahuvrīhi*, (iii) compounds having pronouns like 'yad' and 'tad' as their last members are also valid, e.g., 'paramasaḥ'.<sup>125</sup>

132. It is held that "there is evidence to believe that it was accent that determined Samāsa in the early stage of the Sanskrit language. A slight defect in the use of accents is said to have proved fatal to the sacrificer himself."<sup>126</sup>

<sup>121</sup> *ibid.*, P. 297.

<sup>122</sup> *ibid.*, P. 296.

<sup>123</sup> *ibid.*, PP. 288-289.

<sup>124</sup> *ibid.*, P. 299.

<sup>125</sup> *ibid.*, P. 300.

<sup>126</sup> *ibid.*, P. 303. Also cp. 'duṣṭaḥ śabdaḥ svarato varṇato vā mithyā prayukto na tam artham āha. sa vāgvajro yajamānaḥ hinasti yathendrasātruh svarato parādhāt.'



133. Words bearing double accent point that the first step in the change over from mono-syllabic to polysyllabic must have been to bring together two syllables having the same meaning or having allied meanings which tended to support the intended sense or one conveying the intended sense and the other its goal or attainment.

134. In the next stage accent came to be placed on the syllable that was predominant and was perhaps the pivot around which the sense of the syllables united with it revolved. It has been shown above that syllables were added either at the end, or in the beginning, or sometimes in the middle and sometimes at two or more of these places.

135. Next some Dvandva compounds would have been used to indicate a new signification which comprised a notion in which the sense of the individual members or even their combined sense was only indicative of a part of the intended sense. This stage is clearly visible in the explanations of 'akṣara, hṛdaya, sāma, udgītha' and others cited earlier.

136. Later on other types of combinations would have been formed.

137. Some examples of the development of words on the above principles are given below. In the following explanations the syllable bearing the acute accent has been taken the pivot or the key word to which others have been added.

138. 'Prathamah' appears to have been formed by adding 'prátha' to 'má' (which base is apparant in a tá-antamá); 'Vāká' developed from a combination of 'vāk' and 'á'; 'pramé' from a combination of 'prá' and 'mé'; 'yutsú' from a union of 'yut' and 'sú'; and 'vidhúm' from a combination of 'vi' and 'dhúm'. In all these cases the key word comes at the end.

139. In the words 'śák' (in śákmanā) and śák (in śákmanā), 'sám' and 'sām' (in śāmrājyāya and sāmvaranau).



there is a combination respectively of 'śák' and 'ā' and sám and 'ā'. Here the 'ā' base has been added in the middle of the other base. Likewise in the development of 'bhūmánā' from 'bhūnā' (which itself appears to be from a union of 'bhū' and 'nā'), the syllable 'má' has been inserted in between the two parts of the original base.

140. 'Rám-su' compared with 'rám' in 'rám-sujihvah', 'śámá' compared with 'śá' in 'śám', and 'pārthiya' compared with 'pārthi'<sup>127</sup> in 'pārthyāḥ' it is clear that 'su', 'ma' and 'va' have been added at the end.

141. The independent svarita accent in 'pra-hyé' indicates that it is 'pra-hí-e'. The base 'hi' is found in words like 'ahi'. Since 'hí' is acute in the combination 'pra-hye' it is evident that 'pra' and 'e' have been added in the beginning and at the end respectively. Here the addition is found in two places.

142. From the cases discussed in the foregoing pages it is evident that many words that are now known to have various case-endings have been used in the *Rg-Veda* with those case-endings as original bases. The *Rg-Veda*, therefore, does not recognise the case-endings in their modern form. To cite some more examples, the word-groups (i) páśvaīṣṭi, paśváyantrāsaḥ, paśvā, páśve, (ii) máhyam, mahyā, mahyāḥ, mahyaí and (iii) śátámūtiḥ, śátámūtim, śátamūte, śátámūtaiḥ indicate that paśva, mahya and śátam are bases. Ordinarily they are regarded as forms of paśu, asmad and śata which themselves are separate bases in the *Rg-Veda*.

### *Vāg-Brahma*

143. With such a complicated origin and development of words and their senses it was but natural for a philosophical mind bent towards the Supreme Power to conceive the phenomenon of speech as cosmic speech;

<sup>127</sup> There is a word 'prthi' also in *RV. VIII. 9.10*.



to identify it with everything in this universe that is, that has been and that will be. This must have led them to identify speech through cosmic speech with Brahma, the Ultimate Power and Reality. The Vedic literature contains ample material explaining this conception. Thus it has been said that Aja (—Tad Eka) bears the three worlds—the earth, the atmosphere and the heaven and protects everything by Mantras that are true or real (*satya*).<sup>128</sup> Prajāpati uttered the *nivid* and all the beings came into existence out of this sound.<sup>129</sup> Three speeches—*Paśyanti*, *Madhyamā* and *Vaikharī* or (according to another view) *Ṛk*, *Yajuh* and *Sāma* milk *Parjanya* (—the Cosmic Power). This milking creates everything and grows it. It bears all moveable and immoveable beings by means of three qualities (*dhātu*)—*sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*.<sup>130</sup> The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* has explained the phrase '*viśvakarma ṛṣiḥ*' as *vāk* (speech) on the ground that all this has been created by *vāk* which in its turn was created by Prajāpati. The speech familiar to all (*pratyakṣa*) is known by this primeval speech.<sup>131</sup> The *Atharva Veda* identifies *vāk* with *Sarasvatī*, *Anumati* and *Bhaga*.<sup>132</sup>

144. This philosophy must have influenced the development of words, their meanings and construction of sentences in the language. This is reflected in two ways—the ancients consider the vedic language as artificial and not natural or spontaneous. This means that the vedic seers would have laboured hard in developing this language.

<sup>128</sup> *RV.* I. 67.3. Also see commentaries of *V.M.* and *Sā.* on it.

<sup>129</sup> *RV.* I.96.2. and its commentary in *AB.* II. 33.

<sup>130</sup> *RV.* VII. 101—seer *Āgneya Kumāra* or *Vasiṣṭha*; deity *Parjanya*; metre, *Ṭṛṣṭup*. Also see *RV.* V. 83 and VII. 102.

<sup>131</sup> *SB.* VIII. 1.2.9 on *YV.* XIII. 58.

<sup>132</sup> *AV.* V. 7.4. This conception of cosmic speech as the Supreme Power is also found in Greek philosophy. The Greeks held that all universal conceptions of man or cosmic order were embodied in their language. See Bloom-field, *Language*, P. 5.



and the method of its interpretation. The seers do not regard vedic verses as natural and ordinary poetry. They declare it was divine poetry which neither dies nor decays :

देवस्य पश्य काव्यं न ममार् न जीर्यति।<sup>133</sup>

It appears as active today as it was yesterday :

देवस्य पश्य काव्यं महित्वाज्या ममार् स ह्यः समानः।<sup>134</sup>

145. The theory of Vāg-Brahma is reflected in the composition of Vedic Mantras in another way.

146. As has been pointed out elsewhere<sup>135</sup> the primary and direct reference of all words and syllables in the Veda Samhitās is to the Supreme Soul. All concepts and descriptions, therefore, primarily refer to Him. All other senses conveyed by vedic words are secondary and are obtained by Gauṇī Vṛtti, since it has been held by the vedic seers that all objects come out of the Supreme Soul. He exists in all the objects.<sup>136</sup> He, therefore, denotes all objects which in their turn denote Him.<sup>137</sup>

147. There was another outcome of such a philosophical notion about language. The language came to be regarded as 'daughter of desire, milch cow and Virāj (shining and all encompassing).' It was, therefore, considered to yield all senses :

सा ते काम दुहिता धेनु रच्यते  
यामाहुर्वाचं क्वयों विराजम्।<sup>138</sup>

<sup>133</sup> AV. X. 8.32.

<sup>134</sup> RV. X. 55.5. √Mṛ. means to move. See Gā. R. III. 2.130, ftn. 1. Samāna is from 'sam + tan' to breathe.

<sup>135</sup> S. K. Gupta, *Vaidika Darśana*, Ve. Vā, R. XV. 2, P. 10, Para 1; P. 16, Para 36.

<sup>136</sup> AV. XIII. 7.

<sup>137</sup> See AV. XIII. 7; 4; II. 1. 1; IV. 11; V. 2.9; 9.7 etc. Similar views are found in *Sūrah* II. 31-32 of the Glorious Koran.

<sup>138</sup> AV. IX. 2.5. Also cp. RV. IV. 58.6—

सुम्यक् स्रवन्ति सुरितो न घेनं अन्तर्हृदा मनसा पृथमाणाः। एतं अर्धन्त्युर्मयो  
घृतस्य मृगा इव क्षिपणोरीषमाणाः॥



148. Pt. Viśva Bandhu Sāstrī has also arrived at conclusions similar to those contained in the foregoing study. His observations are based on a much wider analysis and also on a different approach. His views are briefly expressed in the following extract from his preface to Vol. III of his monumental *Vedic Word Concordance*.

149. "About 700 footnotes, directly, and a good many more, indirectly, are devoted to breaking the ground for a new technique in contiguous fields of etymology, phonetics, morphology, semantics and accent. Some of the important postulations may be referred to here as under :—

1. Ur-Aryan speech, which was non-synthetic, expanded through natural pronunciational variation, out of five primary, monosyllabic, accented, significant, composite sounds.

2. The usage of its sounds was gradually differentiated so as to signify the primary parts of speech in the order of proper nouns, common nouns, adjectives, pronouns, abstract nouns, adnominal prepositions, conjunctions and interjections. Further tendency to convey related ideas through compositive juxtaposition of primary sounds constituted the origin of the entire later synthetic usage leading to the differentiation of the secondary parts of speech in order of verbs, adverbs, and verb-governing prepositions.

3. The so-called suffixes are fossilised non-initial components of primary compounds.

4. A large number of the Pāṇinian verbal roots, being of composite nature, are further divisible.

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<sup>139</sup> On a reference made by the author of this paper in 1960 Pt. V.B. Sāstrī wrote that he had not elaborated his ideas on this subject beyond what was contained in the Preface and Introduction to his *Vedic Word Concordance*. Since then also nothing written by him or by any one else on this problem is known to the writer.



5. A large number of the so-called homonyms are only apparently so in that they really represent entirely different original words, which in the course of phonetic decay have reached the stage of complete homo-phonology. The theory of multi-basic roots—is advanced for the purpose of rendering this explanation consonant with the Pāṇinian setting.

6. Double accent had no place in Ur-Aryan speech.

7. The so-called independent Svarita is a late arrival, being based on the original Udātta.

8. All simple and composite vowel sounds are, in the last analysis, residual mechanical differentiations of the original rolling vowel as taken by itself, or in conjunction with a following  $\bar{a}$  or  $\bar{r}$  and deprived of its rolling accompaniment through phonetic decay and have regularly exhibited a markedly degradational tendency, ending in disappearance, when not under stress as caused by a following conjunct consonant."<sup>140</sup>

150. The vedic language has, therefore, developed out of a monosyllabic language. It preserves many features of the primeval language!<sup>141</sup> The ancients realized

<sup>140</sup> VPK. III, PP. XIII-XIV. Reference is also invited to pages XXXIX to XLIV of the same work where these conclusions have been further expanded by their author.

<sup>141</sup> Not only this. Features of the transitional stage in the development from monosyllabic to polysyllabic are also found. It exhibits features of incorporating, agglutinative and inflectional languages.

In this connection the following observations of Brugmann in his *Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages*, Vol. I, 1888 are specially note worthy.

"The Indg. languages belong to the inflexional class. The inflexion of words has not existed from the very beginning, but has been gradually developed and perfected. P. 13.

"We have to presuppose a period in which suffixal elements were not yet attached to words. The word-forms of this period are called roots, and the space of time prior to inflexion, is called the root-period. It dates much further back than that stage of development whose word-forms we are able to deduce by a comparison of the separate Indg. group of languages. This stage is usually simply called the Indg. parent-language. P. 14.



it and while inventing artificial roots to explain it, they also preserved the method of explaining Vedic words by analysing them into their syllables and deriving those syllables from artificial roots (as is done extensively by Yāska). The utility of the method of comparing vedic words with a view to understand them correctly with the words of later polysyllabic languages and with the words of the hypothetical polysyllabic I. E. language has to be re-examined seriously.

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"It is impossible to draw a sharp line between the two species of suffixes, since many an element, which was originally only stem-forming, has come to be treated on the same level with word-forming suffixes.

"We must guard against fancying that, towards the close of the primitive period, or even later, elements like *es*, which we abstract as root from such forms as Indog. \**ésti*, (Gr *εστί*), SKr. *ásti*); had an independent existence and a meaning without any definite syntactical relation. P. 15.

14. "According to the analogy of such forms as Fr. *vis-a'-vis*, *rouge-gorge*, it has become usual to indicate component parts of inflected words by hyphens, e.g. Gr. *ει-πε*, *πα-τρ-ες*, *φερ-σ-ι* in the same manner Indg. \**éi-mi*, \**pδ-ter-és*, \**bhér-o-i-t*. It is thus intended to give a clear idea as to what parts of an inflected word once had an independent existence. P. 16.

"In like manner many of the prim. Indog. suffixes, which we are wont to regard as a unity, e.g. *the-ter-in* \**pδ-ter-es* (Gr. *πατερεσ* S), may have been fused together out of several suffixal elements. Our inability to analyse a pri. Indg. element proves nothing for its primitive unity.

"3. It is theoretically correct when we say that the root of a word is found after we have removed all formative syllables from it. But in the first place we do not know what shape Indg. words had towards the end of the root-period, and this applies especially to the fact that we are unable to say whether the language at this stage possessed only monosyllabic words, or only words of more than one syllable, or both categories. Secondly, the analysis of elements, which were directly annexed to the ends of roots, is of a most doubtful nature. And lastly, we are unable to determine what phonetic changes inflexional compounds had undergone from the beginning up to the dissolution of the primitive community. Hence it must not be supposed that the roots, which we in ordinary practice abstract from words, are at all to be relied upon as representing the word-forms of the root-period.



## THE LEARNING OF RĀJĀNAKA RATNĀKARA

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Rājānaka Ratnākara, the author of the *Haravijaya*<sup>2</sup> Mahākāvya, was a Kāśmīrian poet. We know nothing of him.<sup>3</sup> But even then whatever could be gathered from his *Haravijaya*, is being given here. Ratnākara belonged to a period when poetry had ceased to be an expression of the outburst of emotions and passions of the human heart, when it was considered only a learned pursuit, when pedantry and polymathy became the sole object to be exhibited through its instrumentality. Therefore, for becoming a successful poet, it was necessary to possess a good knowledge of all the branches of literature, as, according to Mammaṭa, 'a poet must supplement his natural genius by a careful study of the Śāstras and also by the worldly knowledge.'<sup>4</sup> Vāmana<sup>5</sup> gives us a quite clear list of what a poet requires to know. 'He must have worldly knowledge, understand what is possible or not; he must be a master of grammar, must know the correct meanings of words as shown in dictionaries; must study metrics; must be expert in the arts, including singing, dancing, and painting; and study the Kāmaśāstra, so as to be aware of the usage of love. Again, he must study politics, so as to know what is policy . . . . .'<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Here is an abstract from my thesis 'A Critical Study of the *Haravijaya*', in which an attempt is made to throw light on the learning of Rājānaka Ratnākara, on the basis of the *Haravijaya* :

<sup>3</sup> *Kāvyaaprakāśa* : 1.3

<sup>4</sup> *Kāvyaālankāra* :

<sup>5</sup> A.B. Keith : "*A History of Sanskrit Literature*" P. 340.



“The essential characteristic which a poet must possess”, suggests Daṇḍin, “is a combination of Pratibhā (genius), Vyutpatti (scholarship), and Abhyāsa (practice).”<sup>6</sup> Pratibhā is an inborn talent, while Vyutpatti comprises under it a wide range of knowledge.<sup>7</sup> For his opulent erudition and profundity of knowledge, Ratnākara will be regarded, as Rājaśekhara rightly remarks ‘as, the ocean, where all sorts of precious pearls dwell in.’<sup>8</sup> In the introduction to his *Lāghupañcāśikā* a commentary on the *Haravijaya*, Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha, being excessively impressed by Ratnākara’s scholarship, proclaims him to be ‘a jewel among the scholars’<sup>9</sup>. . . ‘Vipaścin-maṇḍalīratnaratnākarah . . .’ As Ratnākara himself has said, he was called ‘Vāgīśvara’—the Lord of Speech—and ‘Vidyādhipati’—the Master of Learning—<sup>10</sup>. Again, he says that it is not a fault on his part, if his work, being overladen with unceasing scenes of imagination exceeds the limit, because it is not wonderful if his speech, while speaking in the court, does not come to an end, or there is no limit for the poetic imaginations and (poetic) excellences.<sup>11</sup> All these words of Ratnākara sound his higher erudition and indicate the higher learning of a profound scholar.

A keen observation of the *Haravijaya* enables us to get well-acquainted with Ratnākara’s learning, because there are various references, which speak of his profound study of each and every branch of the Sanskrit literature. He had a sound knowledge of poetics, as, like a great

<sup>6</sup> *Kāvyādarśa*, 1.103.

<sup>7</sup> H. D. Velamkar. *Introduction to Raghuvamśa*.

<sup>8</sup> Rājaśekhara : *Hārāvali* and *Sūktimuktāvali*

<sup>9</sup> see M. A. Stein. *Preface to Rājataranginī*. P VII. & *Ibid*, footnote: “. . . Vipaścinmaṇḍalīratnaratnākaramahākaveḥ gabhīravitate kāvyekaroṭi Lāghupañcāśikā. . .”

<sup>10</sup> *Haravijaya*, see colophon.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*. XXXII. 88.



Rhetorician, he sets his views on the special characteristics of an epic. He defines a Mahākāvya as a work, where there should be a fully developed sentiment, the beautiful verses, and many a canto—

‘tatra sphuṭarasaś citraiḥ suślokavinibandhanaiḥ’  
anekasargaiḥ saṁgrāme mahākāvyaītam bhataiḥ.<sup>12</sup>

(In the battle, the warriors, who were distinctly enthusiastic, agitated, acquiring fame and embellished with various implements for war, played the rôle of an epic, which has the sentiment clear, which is evident, which is full of pictorial figures of speech, and which consists of the composition of fine verses, and which bears many cantos.)

But, if there the meaning is defective—‘apārthatādoṣagatam—,’ if there lies discontinuation in the main theme—‘parītakramam—,’ if there is a confusion in the ideas ‘—sasamśayam—’ and if there exists the lack of junctures ‘—sandhivihīnatām gatam—’ then the poem is regarded as an unfair one—

‘apārthatādoṣaparītakramam sasamśayam sandhivihīnatām  
gatam,  
na deśakālādivirodhi paṇḍitaiḥ praśasyate kāryamasādhukāvyaivat.’<sup>13</sup>

(The action, which does not bring any success, which is doubtful, which begets disunity, and which is against place and time etc., is not appreciated by the wise, like a bad composition, which is full of the defect of having its matter out of context, which has no order, which contains doubt (in the attainment of its object), which does not have the use of junctures, and which does not benefit place and time etc.)

The epic may be nothing but a Kṛiḍā-kāvya, if the

<sup>12</sup> *Haravijaya*. XLIII. 87.

<sup>13</sup> *Haravijaya*. XII. 32,



poet does not care for the employment of good Mātrās—  
'sanmātrācyutaka. . . . krīḍākāvyaṃ ivābabhau.'<sup>14</sup>

(His battle-field, which was devoid of a good quality of the armour, and which bore the distinctly glamour of Andhaka, became like the ornate poetry (krīḍākāvya), which avoids the use of Mātrās and which is distinctly blinding (intellect of the reader by its use of puzzling words, etc.)

A poetic composition (kāvyā), in which the poet does not repeat the consonants and the vowels—'parivṛtti-paritahāri-varṇasvaram—', does not pay attention towards the junctures—'abhyujjhitasandhi'—and the sibilants—'anuṣmatām dadhānam—' is called an ordinary (prākṛta) one—

'parivṛttiparitahāri-varṇasvaram abhyujjhita sandhiyogam  
uccaiḥ'  
ripucakram anuṣmatām dadhānam sapadi prakṛtam eva  
yasya jajñe.'<sup>15</sup>

(Like a Prakṛta composition in which there is a metathesis of the consonants and vowels, which is somewhere bereft of the Sandhis (combination of the letters), and which has no use of sibilants, his enemies were found at once without the lusture of their bodies, as they were besmeared with dust, crying but not prepared for treaty, even when their pride (courage) disappeared.)

In a poem, there should be carefully used the functions of the words, that is, the sense indicated, the sense inferred, and the sense suggested, and the poetic qualities, namely, vigour (ojas), sweetness (mādhurya) and lucidity (prasāda), and should present the full development of its sentiment  
'iti rasapoṣayuktimaḍ anujjhītavṛtti guṇavyapāśrayam,  
prathitaśubhāṅgalakṣaṇam apūrvakṛti pravaṇātmatām  
dadhat.'<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Haraviṇaya*, XLIII. 221.

<sup>15</sup> *Haraviṇaya*. XV. 7.

<sup>16</sup> *Haraviṇaya*. XXI. 57.



(Śiva, who was skilful in doing such an odd creation (as the form of Ardhanārīśvara) was bearing in the half of this body the half (part) of Pārvatī, which had exuberant love, which did not abandon the good conduct, which was a seat of good qualities, and which was full of auspicious marks of the body; as a poet, expert in the composition of the excellent work, which represents the skill of introducing the sentiments, which is not bereft of the modes (Vṛttis), which has poetic qualities (Guṇas), which is developed by the junctures (Sandhis), and of their subordinate parts (Sandhyāṅgas).

His proficiency in rhetorics may be seen in his beautiful use of nearly fifteen kinds of pictorial figures (Citrālaṅkāras), various varieties of the figures of speech (arthālaṅkāras), and metrics, in the successful employment of forty-eight types of metres.

Ratnākara had a profound knowledge of Dramaturgy, too, as he mentions various technical terms, which are usually associated with a drama, such as Introductory scene or Prologue,<sup>17</sup> curtain,<sup>18</sup> prelude<sup>19</sup> and activities at the beginning of a dramatic performance.<sup>20</sup> Besides this, he refers to the ten types of drama (Daśarūpaka<sup>21</sup>):—

‘spaṣṭehāmṛgaḍimavīthikam sadaṅkavyāyoga tad anu  
vīhṛtya niḥsaṅgāyāḥ,  
atyākṣuḥ sphuṭadaśarūpakāvyavastham. . . .’<sup>22</sup>

(After that, the ladies left it, when they got tired, wandering in the forest on the jewelled slopes of the Mandara mountain, where the paths were marked with the fights of the wolves, in whose good laps birds restored, where the little

<sup>17</sup> prastāvanā, *Haravijaya*. xvii. 106.

<sup>18</sup> Javanikā, *Haravijaya* XVII. 35.

<sup>19</sup> Viṣkaṁbhaka, *Haravijaya*, XVII. 106.

<sup>20</sup> pūrvaraṅga, *Haravijaya*. XXVI. 19.

<sup>21</sup> Compare *Daśarūpaka*, I.7-8.

<sup>22</sup> *Haravijaya*. XVII. 107.



ones of the beasts lived in their nature; thus, it was like a (dramatic) composition, distinguished by its ten varieties—*Īhāmṛga*, *Ḍima*, *Aṅka* and *Vyāyoga* etc.)

The special type of drama in which the erotic sentiment predominates, in which man of aesthetic taste (*Rasika*) is made hero and a beautiful lady (*Rambhorū*) heroine, and which contains acts not exceeding four in number, is called *Nāṭikā* :

‘śṛṅgārastithiramaṇīyanaramagarbhavyāpārātanurasanāya-  
kānuyātā,

rambhorūr atha caturaṅkalāncchitaśrīḥ pratyagramātanuta-  
nāṭike’va śobham.<sup>23</sup>

(Then the beautiful lady, pursued by her amorous, jovial and very much passionate consort, and with her beauty enhanced by the four arts (dance, music etc.) spread the excessive glamour like that of a *Nāṭikā*, which has love for its (main) sentiment (*śṛṅgāra rasa*), which bears the delightful amorous sports (*Narmagarbha*), which contains the exuberant sentiment (such as, humour) which has its hero firm and brave, but reckless and sportive (*Dhīralalita*), and which is beautified by the four acts (*aṅkas*).

In a smooth and attractive postscenium (*Nepathya*), the Gay (*Kaiśikī*) style (*Vṛtti*), embellished with the erotic sentiment, should be employed :—

‘nepathya maṣṇamanorame kṛtā’ ‘sthā śṛṅgārañcita-  
rasaśālītām vahanṭim,  
kāntasya pramadam udāranṭtalilārambhorūr atanuta  
kaiśikī’va vṛttiḥ.<sup>24</sup>

(Like the Gay style (*Kaiśikī Vṛtti*), prepared in postscenium (*Nepathya*), even and attractive, having the sentiment of love, containing fascinating dances and dalliances, the

<sup>23</sup> *Hāraviṇaya*. XVII. 29.

<sup>24</sup> *Hāraviṇaya*. XVII. 79.



beautiful lady, present in the secret place-even and charming, passionate owing to love, and performing the lovely dances, enhanced the pleasure of her consort.)

A drama should begin with an 'auspicious Prologue' (Prastāvanā), its hero must be a renowned great person (Prakhyātodāṭṭa) and the Germ (Bīja), the Drop (Bindu), the Banner (Patākā), the Episodical event (Prakarī), and the Denouement (Kārya), these five elements of the Plot (Arthaprakṛtis) should be introduced in it :

śubhaprastāvanāhṛdayam prakhyātodāṭṭanāyakam,  
nānārthaprakṛtiślāghyaṃ nāṭakaprakriyām iva.'

(He saw the capital of demons) which was charming because of the good commencement, which had its king famous and noble, which was admirable as it had various riches and ministers etc. as if (he saw) the composition of a drama interesting to the auspicious prologue (Prastāvanā), having its hero well-known and noble one, praiseworthy because of the (skilful) use of various elements of the Plot (Arthaprakṛtis).)

A dramatic performance should be preceded by a drink of wine :—

“ittham vyajṛmbhatatarām madhupānagoṣṭhī. . . . .  
nāṭakapūrvaraṅgaḥ.”<sup>26</sup>

(Thus flourished the voluptuous persons, who were drinking wine, which was the prelude to the play of sexual merriments, as it were, and who were indulged in the unceasing intercourses with women, excessively passionate and charming owing to their exquisite beauty.)

It is the usual tendency of the Sanskrit drama that it never offers a calamitous end, though it excites all the emotions of the human heart. To avoid the tragic catastrophe and to present a pleasant end of the play, the scene of danc-

<sup>25</sup> *Haravijaya*. XXXII. 16.

<sup>26</sup> *Haravijaya*. XXVI. 91.



ing, and those of plucking flowers should be used to constitute a Prelude (Viṣkambhaka) :—

‘pātratvam manasijalāsakasya yātā nartitvā kusumavihāra-  
naṭakānte,

Viṣkambhasthitiviśadapraveśamārgān

nirjagmuḥ kamaladr̥ṣo’tha kānanāṅkāt.<sup>27</sup>

(The lotus-eyed ones, who, dancing after plucking the flowers as if at the end of a play, played the role of a dance teacher, as if of Cupid, went out of the forest, which had its paths easily accessible, because of its being extensive as if from an act, which has the Interlude (Prastāvanā). marked with the introduction of the Prelude (Viṣkambhaka).)

<sup>27</sup> *Haravijaya*, XVII. 106.



## TAKṢAŚILĀ—THE ANCIENT SEAT OF LEARNING

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THE origin of "TAXILA", as the foreigners spelt it, appears to be steeped in the fog of antiquity ! The name of the city in Sanskrit is TAKṢA-ŚILĀ, a compound which as per Dr. H. Wilson, means "Engraved or hewn-rock"—Prof. Buhler explains it as being the rock of TAK-ŚAKA, the legendary King of the Nāgas. The Pāli form of the name, as found in a copper-plate inscription is TAKKASILA, while in Ptolemy the form is TAXILA.

TAXILA was, by far, the most celebrated widely known cosmopolitan city of the ancient Eastern World. . . where the Persians, the Greeks, and the Indians following diverse religious creeds met together as scholars, warriors, pilgrims and traders.

It was here that the East and the West sought to understand each other and, to exchange hearts long before the birth of CHRIST and verily succeeded to a great extent in building up a new motif in art, culture and science which we cherish even, to-day, with wonder, awe and adoration.

It was here that ALEXANDER the Great, met an equal, so to say, rebuff at the hands of the sages and philosophers who refused to wait upon the *World Victor* ! It was here that the first World-University flourished for centuries together. And yet it was TAXILĀ that remained

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buried under-ground, without an epitaph, till the middle half of the nineteenth century, when luckily enough for the study of Indological researches.

General Cunningham of the then Archaeological Service of India, chanced to dig up its remains in 1863 near *Shahdheri*, the mound of Kings, 12 miles north-west of Rawalpindi, now in Pakistan and miraculously unearthed the pristine glamour of a wonderful civilization to the notice of the modern age.

Indeed, not only General Cunningham, referred to, but also, Sir John Marshall suggests *inter alia* viz., that the Sanskrit name of the city, *TAKṢAŚILĀ*, is a descriptive term which means : the city of cut-rock. It may, however, be suggested here, incidentally that the idea and art of carving rock-stones and hollowing out chambers thereon was known in India as far back as the third century B.C., inasmuch as the same appears to have been indented by the Persians in this land, who had learnt the secrets of stone-carving a few centuries earlier from the master-carvers of Egypt.

Indologists, however, opine that rock-hewn shrines, or caves fashioned out of massive granites, came only into existence with the advent of the Mauryan dynasty, there being no proof of the fact that prior to that epoch in Indian history, all the houses were built of any building materials excepting mud brick on wood.<sup>1</sup>

General Cunningham, however, advances another view, to the same key, by saying that the term is generally interlinked with *TAKṢAKA*, the name of a king of Nāgas, who killed *PARIKṢIT*, a King of the Kurus mentioned in the *ŚATAPATHA-BRĀHMAṆA*<sup>2</sup>. *PARIKṢIT* is, no doubt, famous as a King of the Kurus in the *ATHAR-*

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Anian*, by : J. W. McCrindle.

<sup>2</sup> XIII, 5, 4, 2.



*VAVEDA*, and the incident is further related in the *MAHĀBHĀRATA*. But *TAKṢAKA* is a suggestive *Snake*, too, of the Epic, of nondescript fauna-class.

In the same Epic, we are also told that Arjuna during his exile in forest had married ULŪPI, a beautiful princess of the NĀGA-KINGS, who lived not only in the NĀGA-LOKA but also by the Ganges which coursed through and washed the realm off its impurities, as well. So, does it not follow, viz., that the origin of *TAXILA*, alike of all antiquarian origins of places, dates and dynasties is too shrouded in fog to unravel its mystery.

One may also, come by a *TAKKASILA* in Pāli text, viz., when the Buddha, wrote Fahien (399-414 A.D.), "was a Bodhisatva in a previous birth, he gave away his head to a man and from this circumstance the kingdom got its name, for, in the language of China *TAKṢAŚILĀ* means several head.

There is, however, an Epic tradition, which, whether well-invented or genuine, appears to be rather probable, too.

This reference as to the origin of *TAKṢAŚILĀ* happens to be there, in the Uttarakāṇḍa or the Epilogue to the *RĀMĀYANA* and may be summed up thus : Yuddha-jit, who succeeded Aśvapati, his father, as the King Kaikeya of the country lying between the Jhelum and the Beas, and maternal uncle to Bharata, son of Daśaratha, sent an envoy (Gārgya son of Aṅgiras, a Mahājñānī Brahmarṣi) to Rāma, the king of Ayodhyā with a proposal that the beautiful country of Gāndhāra lying on either side of (the then) Sindhu be invaded and conquered with a view to extending the Sūrya-Vamśa Empire on this side of India. The proposal found acceptance with the brothers, and, accordingly Bharata set out with a large army, accompanied by his sons *TAKṢA* and *PUṢKALA*, and reached his uncle's kingdom before long. With the help of his



ally, Bharata took GĀNDHĀRA and eventually founded two cities, viz., TAKṢILĀVATĪ and PUṢKALĀVATĪ. These cities grew up in name, fame and prosperity abounding in beautiful seats of arts, learning and religious worships and surrounded by magnificent edifices, shrines and floral gardens.

Gāndhāra, says Cunningham, is often mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and other *Sanskrit* works as comprising of two sovereign states of TAKṢAŚILĀ and PUṢKALĀVATĪ, the former situated to the east and the latter to the west of the Indus.

At the time of ALEXANDER'S invasion, GĀNDHĀRA was found divided into two kingdoms, that of PUṢKALĀVATĪ to the west of the Indus, which resisted him to the last ditch, and that of TAKṢILĀ, which surrendered before expected or asked to do so.

These two kingdoms however, existed in the past as in the time of the Persians as two units of the kingdom of Gāndhāra extending up to the western bank of the Jhelum, comprising of the modern districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi respectively.

The antiquity of TAXILĀ appears thus to be considerably remote but as to what extent the hallowed deadline of it prolongs towards the ancient history... it is yet unknown; for Uttarakāṇḍa or for the matter of that the seventh book of the RĀMĀYAṆA is believed to be not genuine while, on the other hand, the very date of composition and the period too, of the great Epic, still fail to pass or stand the gauntlet of criticism.

It is, therefore, desirable to pursue an independent line of enquiry, and then compare its findings with those already relevantly suggested, with a view to arriving at a provisional statement of the problem. The evidence at our disposal is both foreign or historical, and indigenous, literary, or quasi-historical.



The direct historical evidence about *TAXILĀ* is provided by the Greek invasion of ALEXANDER in 320 B.C. accompanied by some of his great contemporaries, SELUCUS, who succeeded later to his Asiatic empire; PTOLEMY, the future king of Egypt; LYSIMACHES, governor of Thrace, and would be conqueror of Roumania; PERDICUS, his future Regent; ARISTOTBOULOS, the geographist; CLITARCHUS, the historian; one SICRIUS, a disciple of DIOGENES. . . . ALEXANDER crossed the Indus in the spring of 326 B.C. and made a halt at *TAXILĀ*. Here he held a durbar receiving homage and tributes from the king of *TAXILĀ* and smaller chieftains or vassals of his neighbourhood. Not only was the city full of wealth and opulence but was also a noted attraction of culture and learning. It is unfortunate that the Greeks did not visit any of the Academies, religious, secular or strategic, whatsoever about this great city.

ALEXANDER, himself a pupil of ARISTOTLE, felt however greatly interested in the Indian *Sādhus sage or ascetics* and also well-versed Pandits of indigeneous talents, fifteen of whom we retraced in the suburbs of the city. They, so it is said, refused to obey orders of the great invader King and held, therefore, an informal Philosophical symposium, as it were, with one of his learned retinue named, Onesicritus, who only recorded the gist of an account of his above interviews with the great Indian Philosophers, in a book. Only one of them, whom the Greeks called, KALLANOS, was said to be finally persuaded by the Raja of *TAKṢAŚILĀ* to accompany ALEXANDER on his way back to his country. This incident, as one reads in history, took place in the fourth century B. C., when the city of *TAKṢAŚILĀ* was widely known in the East as a universal seat of learning and culture.

Earlier still, India was invaded, as one might remem-



ber by the Persian King, CYRUS, (558-530 B.C.), whose eastern exploit included Gāndhāra, as well.

The dominion of Persian regime under DARIUS, was extant probably till 518 B.C. and comprised as it is evident from the Greek source the course of the Indus from *KALABAGH* to the sea including the whole of SIND, and perhaps a considerable portion of the PUNJAB—east of the Indus. This included, therefore by implication the district of PESHAWAR and a considerable extent of TAXILA, probably, the entire district, though the sphere of Persian influence may have reached still further. This Iranian control on India, particularly, on TAXILA appears to have prolonged till 330 B. C. when it was cracked by ALEXANDER, lasting, for about two centuries (518-330) B. C.

There is, of course, no direct evidence to show that *TAXILA* was during the Iranian rule a prominent city of cosmopolitan learning and culture.

HERODOTUS who makes cursory observations often, on many and varied nations and cultures of India and her Sādhus who lived upon mere vegetable roots and herbs appears to be silent on the point.

Excavations at *TAXILĀ*, however, have revealed a wealth of evidence in the form of objects of art. Beside a temple of the sun and another of fire worship, there has been, as we know, discovered a shrine, in the heart of a block of buildings, an octagonal pillar of which bears an Aramaic inscription carved on white marble.

This discovery made by Sir John Marshall is presumed to affirm the fact and confirm the theory viz., which the French scholar BÜHLER advanced in 1895 that *KHAROṢṬHĪ* is derived from the Aramaic script which was introduced into India during the Iranian rule, and which was used then as a common medium of instruction and communication throughout the (pre-fourth century B.C.) Persian Empire.



Kharoṣṭhī, it is suggested, was derived at "TAXILĀ" where some great ancient scholars of the East possibly adopted the foreign script, to meet the demands of the new government and at the same time to express additional sounds required by Brāhmī, the then prevailing script of India. TAXILĀ became, presumably, the home of KHAROṢṬHĪ, which continued to be used in the GĀNDHĀRA down to the third century A.D. It spread from thence to the west and east, and according to Professor Sylvian Levi it came to be adopted in central Asia, in a country like KHOTAN. Scribes and amanuenses . . . employed it skilfully like BRĀHMĪ to reproduce original texts of scriptures and holy letters therefrom.

Aśoka, thus, gave a lasting recognition to this script when he got his edicts inscribed on rocks in the Peshawar district in KHAROṢṬHĪ, the prevailing current script of those eras, while all other edicts were carved in one or other form of BRĀHMĪ. According to Prof. RAPSON, KHAROṢṬHĪ spread as far as the Jullundar district where both the scripts were current side by side with each other.

One may also, for further direct evidence and sounder proof of TAXILĀ'S eminence however attempt to explore the idigenous field of inquiry that extends throughout the vast age of the Buddhist literature. Jīvaka, as for instance, a great contemporary alumni of the Buddhist order and, according to the MAHĀVAGGA, JĪVAKA studied medicine at TAXILĀ for about seven years with a learned Professor, ĀTREYA, by name. . He was a ward of the prince ABHAYA, son of BIMBIŚĀRA, King of MAGADHA (the modern districts of Patna and Gaya.)

BIMBIŚĀRA ruled, as the history tells us during the period 603—551 B.C. was succeeded by his son, AJĀTŚĀTRU (551-519) B.C. both of whom, he served as their State-physician. Does th's bit of cursory instance prove



at all, viz., that *TAXILĀ* was as such then a great centre of learning and scientific culture in that Buddhist Era? It is, no doubt, on the basis of this fact that HOERNLE, author of *Studies in the ancient India*, London, 1907, places ĀTREYA in 600 B.C., believing him at the same time to be the *Founder* of the school of Indian Medicine and Pharmacology. The field of enquiry started with JĪVAKA stretches far into the dim past and, offers us, also, a new area of exploration, which pushes the age of *TAXILĀ* still deeper down into antiquity, even up to the later Vedic Age.

The sources of this further information are however, : PĀṆINI, the *JĀTAKAS*, the EPICS and the VEDĀNTIC TEXTS and LITERATURE and the like.

PĀṆINI, to begin with, mentions *TAXILĀ* as an important city in his classic, *AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ*. As per MACDONELL, PĀṆINI lived, after, 500 B.C. If this view is correct, PĀṆINI'S evidence turns only supplementary and corroborative.

But, there is another school of thought heralded by GOLDSTUCKER, R. G. BHANDARKAR and like Indologists which holds that PĀṆINI lived before the Buddha, earlier than 700 B.C., a fact, which finds convincing reasons in favour in the learned book, *Hindu History*. (Dacca, 1920) of A.K. Mazumdar.

But, can it be suggested, for the present at least, that *TAXILĀ* was, even before the advent of the Buddha, an important entrepot of culture and learning where most probably PĀṆINI himself, (a *native* of GĀNDHĀRA born at Salātura, near Attock on the Western bank of the Indus) received his education and even worked as a teacher for some time?

There is, again, some "clue" leading to the evidence as to the locale of *TAXILĀ*. There are in the *JĀTAKAS* Birth legends and stories of the *Buddha*, varied references



to the same as a seat of vast learning, often frequented by the then scholars, Brāhmin Paṇḍits, Kṣatriya Princes and kings, merchants and others, particularly, while BRAHMADATTA was the King of Vārāṇasī.

A reference, also, to JĀTAKA 336 shows, that TAXILĀ figured then as a seat of advanced educational culture where, Prince Chatta of KOŚALA (Ayodhyā or Awadha) escaped, to be free from the turmoils of mundane life and received the teachings of esoteric arts leading to the discovery of ones hidden spiritual treasures which lie dormant and buried in the Soul.

There is a further reference, *albeit*, in some vague form to "TAXILĀ" in the ŚVETAKETU JĀTAKA. Born of a Brāhmin family, one ŚVETAKETU, for instance, goes to TAXILĀ just for acquiring higher training and instructions in arts and, on completion of study-course, takes upon the life of a Pravrajyā (mendicancy) of a monk having been fully armed with the basic wisdom and scientific technique of facing the stern austerities of an otherwise Bhikṣu's Life.

UDDĀLAKA, another Brāhmin Paṇḍit, also enjoys similar rank of distinction in the UDDĀLAKA JĀTAKA. He too was a student of the TAXILĀ University and after finishing his course here he, it is said, also, joins a body of ascetics whom he serves most reverentially, and at whose feet he learns devotedly all that could be learnt. And in due course, he becomes their principal teacher.

It is interesting that the former scholar or Brāhmin Paṇḍit bears some likeness to the namesake mentioned in the CHĀNDOGYA and the BRHADĀRANYAKA<sup>3</sup> Upaniṣads respectively and as such throws some side-light—(although not too authentic in the truest sense inasmuch



as the *JĀTAKAS* are only legends) on the great importance of *TAXILĀ* as being a head-quarter of ancient education.

Can it be then guessed, viz., that *perhaps* *TAKṢYA-ŚILA* of the *MAHĀBHĀRATA* is the variant of *TAXILĀ* of the *VEDAS* and that it flourished during the days of *ŚVETAKETU*? And might it also be supposed at the same time that *UDDĀLAKA* of the *JĀTAKA* is the same person, *ĀRUNĪ UDDĀLAKA* of the *MAHĀBHĀRATA* who was his father?

For, is it not a fact that both *ŚVETAKETU* and *ĀRUNĪ UDDĀLĀKA* . . . as *son* and father *figure* prominently in the *CHHĀNDOGYA UPANIṢAD* and *BRHADĀRANYAKA UPANIṢAD* as well as, also, in the *ŚATAPATHA-BRĀHMAṆA*<sup>4</sup> and in the *KAUṢĪTAKI-BRĀHMAṆA*, respectively?

Can we, therefore, place *TAXILĀ* on the date-line of the eighth century or thereabout in the evolutionary chronology of Indian history on the modest estimate of Professors *RAPSON* and *KEITH*'s chronology at 700-800 B. C.?

*TAXILĀ*, thus, appears to be the centre of the Vedic, Buddhistic, Purānic and allied heterogeneous cultures of diverse nations, which sought to preserve intact the seeds of learning, enlightenment and education, so far sown broad-cast by *JĪVAKA PĀṆINI*, *KAUṢĪLYA* and like scholars, for centuries till the days when *ALEXANDER* arrived in India<sup>5</sup> and the "Light of the Great Seat" of *GĀNDHĀRA* was once again carried down the Gangetic Valley to *MAGADHA* to emblazon her erstwhile torch of learning in the chequered annals of Indian Civili-

<sup>4</sup> I. i.

<sup>5</sup> At the sight of the king and his army they (the learned sages of *Taxila*) did nothing but stamp with their feet on the ground. The interpreters, having asked what they meant by doing thus, they replied :



zation. Can it not, as such be said that it was truly, a great seat of learning of the Eastern World perhaps alike of HARAPPA and MOHANJE-DARO now utterly buried into the limbo of the magnificent ruins of antiquity and forgetfulness?

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"O KING ALEXANDER, every man possesses as much of the earth as this upon which we have stamped but you though, but a man like ourselves, only more arrogant and meddlesome, have traversed so much of the world, troubling both yourself and others and yet you must soon die and possess no more than the spot of earth which will suffice to bury you". . . *McCrindle : Ai 69*

(ii) When messengers from ALEXANDER invited him (MANDANIS, the oldest and wisest of sages at TAXILĀ) to go to the son of Zeus with the promise of gifts if he complied and threats of punishment if he refused, he did not go.

"ALEXANDER", he said, "was not the son of Zeus (for he was not) so much as the master of the larger part of the world. For his part, he wanted some of the gifts of a man whose desires nothing could satiate, and as little did he fear, for while he lived India would supply him with food enough, and when he died he would be delivered from the flesh now wasted with age. He himself was the son of God. If ALEXANDER, too, was such and wanted nothing that ALEXANDER had"—*ibid*, 74

(iii) "The King," Says Aristoboulos,

"Sent for him" (one of the Brahmin sages) but he requested the King to come to him if he wanted anything at his hands." . . . *McCRINDLE, Ai 68.*







# NĀSIK CAVE INSCRIPTION, OF THE TIME OF VĀSIṢṬHĪPUTRA PUḢUMĀYI REGNAL YEAR 19

By ŚRĪ SADHU RAM M. A.\*

## INTRODUCTION

This inscription is engraved inside a rock-cut chamber in a cave situated at about four miles and a-half from the town of Nāsik in Bombay State. These chambers were constructed at the expense of pious donors, mostly members of royal families, whose glories are sung in the inscriptions. Some of these chambers belong to the period of the Western Kṣatrapas and some to the time of Sāta-vāhana dynasty whose rule in the Central Deccan and adjoining territories extended for about five centuries from B. C. 225 to A. D. 225.

The present inscription of the time of PuḢumāyi is 'the funeral oration of a disconsolate mother.' It was engraved 20 years after the death of her valiant son. The occasion for it was the donation to the monks of the Bhadāvāniya sect of a cave begun by Gautamīputra and completed by his mother.<sup>1</sup>

"This record," according to Dr. Sircar, "may have been copied on the cave-wall from a grant on copper-plates or cloth. The gift of a cave to a new sect of monks suggests that the earlier occupants had vacated it."<sup>2</sup>

## TEXT

१. सिद्धं (॥\*) राज्ञो वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य सिरिपुल्लमायिस्य सवच्छरे एकुनविसे  
१० १ गोम्हाणं पखे वितीये २ दिवसे तेरसे १० ३ राज-रञ्जो गोतमीपुत्रस्य हिमव(त)-  
मेरु-

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<sup>1</sup> CHIN, p. 312.

<sup>2</sup> Sel. Ins., p. 196, fn. 1.



२. मंदर-पवत-सम-सारस असिक-असक-मुलक-सुरठ-कुरापरंत-अनुप-विदभ-  
आकरावंति-राजसं विज्ञ-छवत-पाटिचात-सह्य-कण्हगिरि-मचसिरिटन-मलय-महिद-

३. सेटगिरि-चकोर-पवत-पतिसं सव-राज (लोक-मं) डलपति-गहीत-सास-  
नसं दिवसकर- (क) र-विबोधित-कमल-विमल-सदिस-वदनसं ति-समुद-तोय-पीत-वाह-  
नसं पतिपुंण-चद-मडल-ससिरीळ-

४. पियं-दसनसं वर-वारण-विकम-चारु-विकमसं भुजगपति-भोग-पीन-वाट-  
विपुल-दीध-मुद (र\*)-भुजसं अभयोदक-दान-किलिन-निभय-करसं अ-विपन-मातु-सुसु-  
साकसं सुविभत-तिवग-देस-कालसं

५. पोर-जन-निविसेसम-दुख-सुखसं खतिय-दप-मान-मदनसं सक-यवन-  
पलहव-निसुदनसं धमोपजित-कर-विनियोग-करसं कितापराधे पि सतु-जने अ-पाण-  
हिंसा-रुचिसं दिजावर-कुटूब-विवध-

६. नसं खखरात-वस-निरवसेस-करसं सातवाहन-कुल-यसु-पतिथापन-करसं  
सव-मंडलाभिवादित-च (र) णसं विनिवतित-चातूवण-संकरसं अनेक-समरावजित-सतु-  
सघसं अ-पराजित-विजय-पताक-सतु-जन-दुपधसनीय-

७. -पुर-वरसं कुल-पुरिसं परपरागत-विपुल-राज-सदसं आगमान (नि) लयसं  
स-पुरिसान असयसं सिरी (ये) अधिठानसं उपचारानं प्रभवसं एक-कुससं एक-धनुधरसं  
एक-सूरसं एक-वम्हणसं राम-

८. केसवाजुन-भीमसेन-तुल-परकमसं छण-धनुसव-समाज-कारकसं नाभाग-  
नहुसं जनमेजय-सगर-य (या) ति-रामाबरीसं सम-तेजसं अ-परिमितमखयमचित्तमभुतं  
पवन-गरुड-सिध-यख-रखसं विजाधर-भूत-गधव-चारण-

९. चद-दिवाकर-नखत-गह-विचिण-समर-सिरसिं जित-रिपु-सघसं नागवर-  
खधा गगन-तलमभिबिगाढसं कुल-विपु (ल-सि) रि-करसं सिरि-सातकणिसं मातुयं  
महादेवीयं गोतमियं बलसिरीयं सच-वचन-दान-खमाहिंसा-निरतायं तप-दम-निय-

१०. मोपवास-तपरायं राजरिसि-बधु-सदमखिलमनुवधीयमानायं कारितं देय-  
धम (केलास-पवत)-सिखर-सदिसे तिरण्हु-पवत-सिखरे विम (तन)-वर-निवसेन महि-  
ढीक लेण (१\*) एतं च लेणं महादेवी महाराज-माता महाराज- (पि) तामही ददाति  
निकायसं भदावनीयानं भिखु-सघसं (१\*)

११. एतसं च लेण (स) चित्तण-निमित्तं महादेवीयं अयकायं सेवाकामो  
पियकामो च (णाता)... (दखिणा) पथेसरो पितु-पतियो धम-सेतुसं (ददा) ति  
गामं तिरण्हु-पवतसं अपर-दखिण-पसे पिसाजिपदकं सव-जात-भोग-निरिठि (ठं) ॥

## TRANSLATION

१. 9-10. (Salutation) to the Perfect One ! In the nine-  
teenth—19th—year of king Vāsīṣṭhīputra Puṣumāyi,  
in the second—2nd—fortnight of summer, on the thir-



teenth—13th—day, the Great Queen Gautamī Bala-siri, devoted to truthfulness, munificence, forbearance and non-violence, zealously engaged in (practising) penance, self-restraint, religious observances and fasting, entirely justifying her title of being the spouse of a royal-sage; the mother of Śrī Sātakarṇi, the king of kings,

1-2. who was in firmness equal to the mount Himālaya, Meru and Mandara; the king of Asika, Asaka, Muḥaka, Suratha, Kukura, Aparanta, Anupa, Vidabha and Ākarāyanti; the lord of the mountains Vijha, Chhavata, Pārīchāta, Sahya, Kaṇhagiri, Macha, Siritāna, Malaya, Mahida,

3. Seṭa-giri, and Chakora; whose commands were obeyed by the circle of all the (neighbouring) kings; whose face was attractive and immaculate like a lotus opened by the rays of the sun; whose chargers had drunk the waters of the three oceans; whose countenance was as lovely and radiant as the orb of the full-moon;

4. whose gait was as elegant as that of the best elephant; whose arms were as muscular, rotund, stout, long and handsome as the expanded hood of the lord of serpents; whose dauntless hand was wet with the water poured out to grant safety; who waited upon his mother with untiring zeal; whose time and place were well apportioned for the pursuit of the three objects (of human existence);

5. who equally shared the weal and woe of the citizens without distinction; who crushed the pride and conceit of the Kṣatriyas; who extirpated the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas; who made the right use of taxes which he collected equitably; who was averse to hurting the life even of a foe who had wronged him; who ameliorated (the condition of) the households of the twice-born as well as those of the lowly;

6. who exterminated the dynasty of the Khakharaṭas and restored the glory of the Sātavāhana family;



to whose feet salutation was done by the circle of all the (near or distant) neighbouring kings; who stopped the contamination of the four *varṇas*; who defeated multitudes of foes in several battles; whose capital city, flying his inviolable banner, was invulnerable to his enemies;

7. who had inherited from a long line of ancestors the paramount title of 'monarch'; who was the repository of the traditional lores; (who was) the heaven of the virtuous; the abode of Fortune; the fountain-head of good-manners; the unique controller (or disciplinarian); the peerless archer; the unrivalled hero; a unique Brāhmaṇa;<sup>3</sup>

8. possessor of prowess equal to Rāma, Keśava, Arjuna and Bhīmasena; instituter of festivities, high jinks and assemblages; equal in lustre to Nahuṣa, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, (Bala-) rāma and Ambarīṣa; who vanquished his multitudinous foes in a way inestimable, inexhaustible, unthinkable and marvellous at the head of battles over which hovered (to witness) the Wind, Garuḍa, the Siddhas, the Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Vidyādharas, Ghosts, Gandharvas the celestial singers;

9. the Moon, the Sun, the Asterism and the Planets; who appeared to be plunging into the sky from the shoulder (i.e., back) of his excellent elephant; (and) who raised his family high;

10. ...caused a pious gift, on the top of the Tiraṇhu (Tiraśmi) mountain rivalling the top of the Kailāsa, (this) precious cave to be made absolutely like a magnificent divine mansion. And that cave the *Mahādevī*, mother of a *Mahārāja* and grandmother of a *Mahārāja*, gives to the Saṅgha of monks of the Bhadāvanīya fraternity;

11. and for the sake of the embellishment of that cave, with a view to honour and please the Great Queen,

<sup>3</sup> Some take *eka-bamhaṇasa* as *eka-brāhmaṇasya*, and translate it as 'of one who is of unique piety.'



his grandmother, her grandson. . . lord of Dakṣiṇāpātha, making over the merit of the gift to his father, grants to his meritorious donation (i.e., the cave) the village Piśā-jipadaka, on the south-west side of the mount Tiraṇhu, free from all (royal) exactions<sup>1</sup>.

## NOTES

1. सिद्धं (line 1)—This word occurs in the beginning of most of the ancient documents. It is generally translated as "Perfection has been attained", "Success has been achieved", or as "*Siddhiḥ astu*" by Sircar.<sup>2</sup> But in our opinion, it is an abbreviated form of the fuller expression "*Om namaḥ siddham*". This suggestion of ours is supported by another expression "*Namaḥ siddhebhyaḥ*", occurring in the Udayagiri Cave Inscription of the year 106.<sup>3</sup> The Siddhas were originally believed to be semi-divine beings who were very pious and had attained perfection. They were supposed to possess the eightfold *siddhis* or supernatural powers. According to some, they dwell in the atmospheric region, midway between heaven and earth. Later on, the term came to be used for any holy person or saint who had attained perfection or any form of beatitude. Among the Jainas, the term *Siddha* was used for a *Jina*, and among the Buddhists, for an *Arhat*. Here it stands for the Buddha.

2. मेरु (line 1)—Meru is the name of a mythological mountain which was said to form the central point of Jambu-dvīpa. All the planets are said to revolve round it, and it is compared to the cup or seed-vessel of a lotus, the leaves of which are formed by the other *Dvīpas*. The river Gangā falls on its summit from heaven. The whole of it is made of gold, and is the residence of Brahmā and a meeting place of the gods, *ṛsis*, Gandharvas, etc. When not regarded as fabulous, it appears to denote the highland



of Tartary north of Himālaya.<sup>4</sup> But, according to B.C. Law, "This mountain, otherwise known as Hemādri or Svarṇācala,<sup>5</sup> is identical with the Rudra Himālaya in Garh-wāl<sup>6</sup> where the Gaṅgā takes its rise.<sup>7</sup> It is near the Badarikāśrama and is probably the mount Meros of Arrian. On the western side of this mountain stand Niṣadha and Pāripātra; on the southern side stand Kailāsa and Himavant, and on the northern side stand Śṛṅgavān and Jarudhi.<sup>8</sup> The great Sālaṅkāyana meditated on this mountain."<sup>9</sup>

3. मन्दर (line 2)—It is also more or less a mythological mountain, though there is a hill of that name in the Bhāgalpur district in Bihār. Here, however, the reference is to the sacred mythological mountain which is the residence of various deities. It served as a churning-stick when the Devas and the Asuras churned the ocean for recovering *Amṛta* and thirteen other things that were lost during the deluge.

4. असिक (line 2)—It is the Rṣika country. The Rṣikas are well known from the *Mahābhārata* (V. 81) : "*Kāmbojā Rṣikā ye ca paścimānūpakāśca ye*". This brings them into contact with the Anūpa country. Also compare *Vidarbhān Rṣikāṃscaiva ramyaṇ Māhiṣakān api*.<sup>10</sup> From the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, it seems that Rṣika (Asika) country lay between the upper courses of Godāvarī and Krishnā, to the south of Aśmaka. The city of the Asikas is there placed on the river Krishnā.

<sup>4</sup> Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.

<sup>5</sup> *SI*, I. 166.

<sup>6</sup> *Therīgāthā Commentary*, p. 150.

<sup>7</sup> *Geography of Early Buddhism*, by B. C. Law, p. 42.

<sup>8</sup> *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Vāṅgavāsī ed., p. 240.

<sup>9</sup> *Kūrma Purāṇa*, 144. 10.

<sup>10</sup> *Sel. Ins.*, p. 193, fn. 3; *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV. 41.11.



5. असक (line 2)—Asaka is mentioned in the Pāli literature as Assaka<sup>11</sup> (*Skt. Āśmaka*); and is situated near the Vindhya on the Godāvarī near Mūlaka, which was the district round Pratiṣṭhāna (*mod.*, Paithan), the Śātavāhana capital.<sup>12</sup> According to Dr. Sircar, it comprised the modern Nanded-Nizāmābād area as it lay immediately to the south of Vatsagulma country. But this is no argument. Dr. Mirashi says, "It is more probable that that area also was like Vatsagulma included in Vidarbha. The identification of the Nanded-Nizāmābād area with ancient Āśmaka is at best conjectural, being based on the uncertain equation of Paudanya or Potana with Bodhan near Nizāmābād. No details about the situation of Potana are available, which could have enabled us to identify it with certainty. It appears more probable that Āśmaka lay directly to the south of Mūlaka (Aurangābād District); for the pupils of Bavaru, who was living in Āśmaka, are said to have gone to Pratiṣṭhāna in the first stage of their journey to the north. If they had been staying in the Nanded-Nizāmābād area, they would have taken the route via Nāndikāṭa (Nanded) and Vatsagulma (Basim), instead of going to Pratiṣṭhāna (Paithan) which lay at a considerable distance to the west. Āśmaka does not, therefore, appear to have been identical with the Nanded-Nizāmābād area."<sup>13</sup>

6. सुरठ (line 2)—It stands for Surāṣṭra, and is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,<sup>14</sup> the *Mahābhāṣya*,<sup>15</sup> *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*,<sup>16</sup> *Bṛhatsamhitā*,<sup>17</sup> etc. According to the *Padma Purāṇa*,<sup>18</sup> it is in Gurjara, and Rajaśekhara

<sup>11</sup> *Sutta-nipāta*, Pāli Texts Society, p. 190.

<sup>12</sup> *Sel. Ins.*, p. 198, fn. 3.

<sup>13</sup> *Stud. Ind.* II, p. 166.

<sup>14</sup> *Ādikāṇḍa*, ch. XII; *Ajodhyā*, X; *Kiṣkindhyā*, XLI.

<sup>15</sup> I. 1. 1, p. 31.

<sup>16</sup> I. 10.34; 15.39; VI. 14.10; X. 27.69; XI. 30.18.

<sup>17</sup> XIX. 19.

<sup>18</sup> 190. 2.



also places it in the western division along with Bhṛgukachchha, Ānarta, Arbuda, Daseraka, etc.<sup>19</sup> According to the *Sarabhaṅga Jātaka*,<sup>20</sup> a stream called Sātodikā flowed along the borders of the Surāṣṭra country, and sages were sent to dwell on its bank. The elephants of Surāṣṭra were the most inferior as compared with those belonging to Aṅga and Kāliṅga. Ptolemy refers to a country called Syrastrène which must be identical with Surāṣṭra (*mod.* Sūrat on the Gulf of Cutch). It was one of the three divisions of Indo-Scythia in Ptolemy's time. After the Scythians, it seems to have passed into the hands of the Guptas. The Jūnāgaḍh inscription tells us that Skandagupta deliberated for days and nights for appointing a trusted and capable governor to guard the land of Surāṣṭra. It comprised south Kāthiāwād with capital at Gīrnār.<sup>21</sup>

7. कुकुर (line 2)—It is a country in Western Rāj-pūtānā, near Ānarta in North Kāthiāwād.<sup>22</sup> The Kukuras mentioned in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* seem to have occupied the Dvārakā region. The *Brhatsamhitā* locates them in the Western India in a country lying between Sind and the Pāriyātra (Aravalli) mountain.<sup>23</sup>

8. अपरंत (line 2)—According to the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (93), the country lying to the west of Devasabhā was called the Paścād-deśa or the western country. R. G. Bhandarkar identifies it with Northern Konkan with its capital at Sūrpāraka (*mod.*, Sopārā). It is referred to in Aśoka's edict V. It is often mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, and according to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. (ch. 58), it seems to have been located north of the Sindhu-Sauvīra country.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, pp. 93-94 (Gaek. Or. Ser.)

<sup>20</sup> *Jāt.* V. 133.

<sup>22</sup> Luders' List, No. 965.

<sup>23</sup> *V.* 71; XIV, 6.

<sup>21</sup> *HGAI*, pp. 297-98.

<sup>24</sup> *HGAI*, pp. 13-14.



9. अनुप (line 2)—The Sanskrit name of the country was Anūpa. It lay near Surāṣṭra and Ānarta in the Narmadā valley (Madhya Pradeśa) of which Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā was the capital (mod., Maheśvara in west Nīmar district).

10. विदभ (line 2)—It was the ancient Vidarbha or modern Berār. The people of Vidarbha are mentioned by Daṇḍin in his *Kāvyādarśa* (I.40), and according to the Purāṇas, they dwelt in the Deccan along with the Pulindas, Daṇḍakas, Vindhyas and others.<sup>25</sup> According to the *Mahābhārata*, it was the kingdom of Damayantī, Nala's queen.

11. आकरावन्ति (line 2)—Ākara was the east Mālava with its capital at Vidiśā; and Avanti, the west Mālava with capital at Ujjayinī, so that Ākarāvanti denotes the entire Mālava. The *Mahābhārata* places Avanti in western India,<sup>26</sup> on the bank of the Narmadā. Mrs. Rhys Davids notes that Avanti lay to the north of the Vindhya mountains, north-east of Bombay.<sup>27</sup> T. W. Rhys Davids observes that it was called Avanti as late as the second century A.D., but from the 7th or 8th century onwards, it was called Mālava.<sup>28</sup>

12. छवत् (line 2)—Sanskrit Ṛkṣavat was a part of the Vindhya ranges to the south of Mālava, passing through Berār nearly into Western Bengal, while Vijha (Vindhya) was the Eastern Vindhya.

13. पारिचात् (line 2)—Sanskrit Pāriyātra, the eastern portion of the Vindhya ranges, now called Satpurā and Aravallī ranges running north through Ajmer. It was known as *Po-li-ye-to-lo* to the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang with a Vaiśya king as its ruler. Pargiter identifies it with that portion of the modern Vindhya range, which is

<sup>25</sup> *Matsya*, 114. 46-48; *Vāyu*, 45. 126; *Mārkaṇḍeya* 57. 45-48.

<sup>26</sup> *Vanaparva*, III. 89. 8354.

<sup>27</sup> *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 107, fn. 1.

<sup>28</sup> *Buddhist India*, p. 28.



situated to the west of Bhopāl together with the Aravalli mountains.<sup>29</sup> Pāriyātra is the western part of the Vindhya range extending from the sources of the Chambal to the Gulf of Cambay.<sup>30</sup>

14. सह्य (line 2)—Sahya is the upper portion of the Western Ghāṭs. D. C. Sircar seems to take the entire Western Ghāṭs under Sahya.<sup>31</sup>

15. कण्हगिरि (line 2)—Sanskrit Kṛṣṇagiri is the modern Kaṇheri on the Western coast, in the Aparānta. The Kaṇheri caves are situated about 20 miles north of Bombay, near Thānā. For a considerable number of years these caves were occupied by the Buddhist monks.

16. मच-सिरिटन (line 2)—Martya-Śrī-stana or Śrī-sthāna; most probably it stands for the Śrī-parvata near Krishnā in Kurnool district.

17. मलय (line 2)—It is the name of a hill on which a Pāṇḍya king, leaving his own country, sought refuge. Pargiter correctly identifies it with the portion of Western Ghāṭs extending south from the Nilgiris to the Cape Comorin. The hermitage of Agastya was situated on the Malayakūṭa which was also known as Śrīkhaṇḍādri or even Chandrādri.<sup>32</sup> The southern extension of the Western Ghāṭs below the Kāverī, now known as the Travancore hills, really forms the western side of the Malayagiri.<sup>33</sup>

18. महिद (line 2)—The Mahendra mountain is referred to in the *Yoginī-tantra*,<sup>34</sup> and also in the Gautamī plates of Gaṅga king Indravarman. It probably refers to the hill of that name in the Ganjam district of Orissa on the Eastern Ghāṭs, between the Mahānadī and the Godāvarī.

<sup>29</sup> Vide, Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 286.

<sup>30</sup> *HGAI*, p. 116.

<sup>31</sup> *Sel. Ins.*, p. 196, fn. 3.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Dhoyi's *Pavana-dhṛta*.

<sup>33</sup> *HGAI*, p. 123.

<sup>34</sup> 2.4.128 ff.



According to the *Harṣacarita*, Mahendra joins the Malaya-parvata, and Kālidāsa places it in Kālīṅga whose king he calls Lord of Mahendra.<sup>35</sup>

19. सेट-गिरि (line 3)—It is situated near Nānāghāt.

20. चकोर (line 3)—It comprises the portion of the Eastern Ghāts to the south of the Mahendra mountain.

21. ति-समुद्र-तोय-पीत-वाहन (line 3)—The three oceans referred to are the Bay of Bengal, the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea, which were known as the Pūrva-sāgara, Bhārata-sāgara and Paścima-sāgara respectively in ancient times. The phrase implies that the whole of the Deccan Peninsula was under the sway of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Similar phrases like *Tri-samudrādhipati* (in the *Harṣa-carita*) and *Tri-samudrāntarvartti-bhuvana-maṇḍalādhibhīṣvara* (of the Chālukyan records) are of common occurrence in literature.

Dr. Sircar thinks that Gautamīputra's suzerainty over the Deccan Peninsula implied by his lordship of Malaya and Mahendra is a vague claim possibly based on a *digvijaya*.<sup>36</sup> But Dr. M. Rama Rao has shown that the coins discovered in Western Deccan prove beyond doubt that this claim is very substantial and not merely conventional.<sup>37</sup>

22. अ-विपन्न-मातु-सुसूक्त (line 4)—Here *a-vipanna* means 'unfailing, unremitting, continuous'. The phrase means 'unfailing, or continuously engaged, in the service of his mother.'

23. खतिय (line 5)—Some scholars take the word Khatiya (= Kṣatriya) to mean Khatri tribe. In this connection, mention may be made of the epithet *eka-bambhaṇa* (line 7) and the traditional Brāhmaṇa-Nāga origin of the Sātavāhanas.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> HC, Ch. VII; *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV. 39, 43, VI. 54.

<sup>36</sup> *Sel. Ins.*, p. 197, fn. 1.

<sup>37</sup> *PIHC*, 1954, pp. 110-114.

<sup>38</sup> *Sel. Ins.*, p. 197, In. 5.



24. स्क (line 5)—The invasion of the Śakas on India started in 85 B.C., and they established themselves in the lower Indus valley Saurāṣṭra, Mathurā and Takṣaśilā from the first century B. C. up to the first half of the first century A. D. They, however, began to meet with reverses soon. From Saurāṣṭra, they were ousted by the Sātavāhāna ruler Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi who thus removed the Śaka menace from that region.

25. यवन (line 5)—Here the extirpation of the Yavanas is no more than in a general way as the allies of the Śakas. For, the latest of the Greek rulers in certain parts of the Kābul valley were driven out by the Kuṣāṇas in about 48 A. D.

26. पल्लव (line 5)—The same may be said of the Palhavas (Parthians or Perso-Parthians) who were ruling in certain parts of the extreme north-west of India at that time. These three, the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas were contemporaries. It is not impossible that while they fought among themselves, they might as well have made a common cause against their Indian counterpart Sātakarṇi who seems to have overcome their allied forces. The Greeks and Parthians were ruling in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces and Sind region.

27. खखरात (line 6)—The Kṣaharātas were the Satraps of the upper Deccan and part of Western India. They were probably a branch of the Śakas. They carved out a principality on the ruins of the early Sātavāhāna empire and attained great power under Nahapāna. Their success was responsible for the diminution of the Sātavāhāna kingdom for many years before Gautamīputra restored the fallen fortunes of his family by extirpating them.

28. कुल-पुरिस-परपरागत-विपुल-राज-सद (line 7)—Compare this expression with one frequently used in more modern inscriptions: *samadhigata-pañca-mahā-śabda*. *Vipula* is used here instead of *mahā* in order to avoid misunder-



standing resulting from the latter's combination with the following *rāja*, for the adjective must refer to *śabda* or *rājāśabda*, the title *mahārāja* by itself would have been too modest.

29. एककुसस (line 7)—It means *ekāṅkuśasya* and not *eka-kuśa-lasya* as explained by Bhandarkar. It may mean that Gautamīputra ruled impartially and that there was the same treatment meted out to different sects or classes of people. All were equal in the eyes of law. Or the expression perhaps contains an allusion to the title *gajapati* which by tradition is conferred on the principal regent of Western India,<sup>39</sup> and which Gautamīputra might have claimed.

30. नाभाग (line 8)—Nābhāga was an epic king, the son of the first Manu (Vaivasvata) to whom the rule of the earth was given.

31. नहुस (line 8)—Another epic king Nahuṣa was the son of Ayus and father of Yayāti. This king is mentioned by Manu as having come into conflict with the Brāhmaṇas, and his story is repeated variously in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. He is said to have aspired to possess Indrāṇī, wife of Indra when the latter had concealed himself for having killed a Brāhmaṇa. The palanquin of Nahuṣa was borne by the Saptaṛṣis (according to another account, by a thousand great Ṛṣis), of whom Agastya was smaller and slower to move. Nahuṣa goaded him with his foot saying "*Sarpa, sarpa*", i.e., "Move on, move on." At that the sage was enraged and cursed him to become a *sarpa*, 'a serpent'. Nahuṣa fell from his palanquin and became a serpent. At the supplication of Nahuṣa, Agastya put a limit to the curse; and according to one version, the doomed man was released from the curse by the instrumentality of Yudhiṣṭhira, when he threw off

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, II, pp. 27ff.



his reptile form, became clothed in a celestial body, and ascended to heaven.

32. जनमेजय (line 9)—Janamejaya was a great king, who was the son of Parikṣit, and great-grandson of Arjuna. It was to this king that the *Mahābhārata* was recited by Vaiśampāyana and the king listened to it in expiation of the sin of killing a Brāhmaṇa. His father, Parikṣit, died from snake-bite, and Janamejaya is said to have performed a great sacrifice of serpents (Nāgas) and to have conquered the Nāga people of Takṣaśilā. Hence he is called *Śarpa-sattrin*, 'serpent-sacrificer'.

33. नागवर-खट्वा गगनतलमभिविगाढ (line 9)—This is not only a hyperbolic way of describing the height of the elephant, but implies more.

34. भदावनीयान (line 10)—The correct form is Bhadā-yaniyān (*Skṛt.*, Bhadrāyaniyānām). This sect was a sub-division of the Sthaviras.<sup>40</sup>

35. पितु-पत्तियो (line 11)—Not *pitṛ-pitr-kaḥ* as suggested by Bhagwānlāl Indrajī, nor *pitṛ-prāptaye* (i.e., *pitaram uddiśya*, i.e., applying the merit of his donation to his father), but *pitṛ-pṛitaye* (i.e., *sva-gata-pitṛ-prīṇanārtham*),<sup>41</sup> to make happy the soul of the deceased father.

36. ददाति गामं (line 11)—It was the practice to make the gift of a village to an institution or an individual. The implication of it was that whatever income accrued to the State from that particular village, would thenceforth accrue to that particular institution or individual.

#### THE IDENTITY AND HOME-LAND OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

The origin of the Sātavāhanas and the exact date of their emergence as rulers is highly controversial. The Nānāghaṭ and Nāsik inscriptions in the Western Deccan

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Rhys Davids, *JRAS*, N.S., pp. 41ff. and pp. 5-7.

<sup>41</sup> *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 199-200.



mention several kings belonging to the *Sātavāhana-kula*. Although *Sātavāhanas* have never been called *Āndhras* in their epigraphs or on their coins, their names occurring in the inscriptions as well as the order of their succession fairly agree with those who are called the *Āndhras*, the *Āndhra-bhṛtyas* or *Āndhra-jātīyas* in the *Purāṇas*. The *Purāṇic* lists about the number of kings in the *Āndhra* dynasty are not uniform, and modern scholars are also divided on the point as to whether the larger list or the shorter one is genuine. Many of the names, however, can be verified from the coins and inscriptions. The founder of the dynasty appears to have borne the name *Sātavāhana*, and coins bearing this name have also been recovered. It is rather curious that nowhere in the *Purāṇas*, the *Āndhras* are called *Sātavāhanas*.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar says, "The *Āndhra-bhṛtya* dynasty of the *Purāṇas* is the same as the *Sātavāhana* dynasty of the inscriptions." The term *Āndhra-bhṛtya*, according to him, means 'those *Āndhras* who were once servants or dependants'. Bhandarkar, Burgess, Smith and Rapson postulated the theory of the eastern origin of the *Āndhras* in the *Āndhradeśa*, comprising roughly the present *Godāvarī*, *Krishnā* and *Guntūr* districts. Bhandarkar located the capital of the dynasty at *Dhānyakaṭaka* but the readings on which this view was based are shown to be incorrect. Burgess and Smith, taking their cue from a late Telugu grammar, thought that the capital was at *Śrī-Kākulam*, but there is no early evidence to support this view. Sukthankar placed the original habitat of the family in the Bellary district. Dr. V. V. Mirashi, on the other hand, holds that *Sātavāhana*, the founder of the dynasty after whom it came to be known as *Sātavāhana-kula*, originally ruled in Central Hyderabad, and may have had his capital at *Pratiṣṭhāna* (*mod.*, *Paithan*). This view is based on three oldest elephant-type coins—all found in the former



Hydrabad State, one from Aurangābād, another from the excavations at Koṇḍāpur, the provenance of the third being certain—bearing the legend *raṁṇo siri Sātavāha (nasa)*, with some early symbols like the triangular standard on the obverse, and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse.<sup>42</sup> Mirasī's is the latest view on the subject. Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar believes in the Āndhra-Sātavāhana identity, but discards the theory of their eastern origin. Dr. Sukthankar, however, denies the very basis of Āndhra-Sātavāhana equation. He says that the correct designation of the dynasty should be 'Andhra-bhṛtya', a *Tatpuruṣa* compound, meaning 'the feudatories of the Āndhras'; and the feudatories need not necessarily be the Āndhras themselves. K. P. Jayaswal believed that the Sātavāhanas were the Satiyaputas of the Aśokan edicts, and V. S. Bakhle also holds the same view.

But although, as we have tried to show, several scholars have denied any affinities between the Sātavāhanas and the Āndhras, yet it appears that the tribal name of the kings was Āndhra, and the dynastic appellation, Sātavāhana; and that Sātakarṇi (*Skṛt.*, Śātakarṇi) was a surname. It was very common in Indian epigraphs and coins to omit the tribal name. In fact, as Prof. G. Venket Rao holds,<sup>43</sup> the Āndhras and the Sātavāhanas may quite reasonably be said to be identical. The same kings are spoken of both as *Āndhra-bhṛtyāḥ* and *Āndhra-jātīyāḥ* in the Purāṇas.

In the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to ascertain whether the Sātavāhanas started their political career in the Āndhradeśa proper or outside. But certain it is, that they came to hold imperial power from the Āndhradeśa.

<sup>42</sup> JNSI, XIII, Pt. II, pp. 115f.

<sup>43</sup> EHD, pp. 72ff.



## NAME AND CASTE

Various derivations and interpretations of the word Sātavāhana have been suggested, but a simple and probable explanation is that the term comes from Sanskrit *Sapta-vāhana*, through the Prākṛit form *Satta-vāhana*, the 'seven-horsed Sun'. Thus, Sātavāhana as a dynastic name may well denote a 'king of the Solar race'. Hemachandra in his grammar gives Śālivāhana as an *apabhraṃśa* of Sātavāhana. According to the *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi*, Sātavāhana means 'he who enjoyed a comfortable mount.'<sup>44</sup> Sōmadeva in his *Kathāsarit-sāgara* says that a Yakṣa, Sāta by name, carried the prince.<sup>45</sup> It is also suggested recently that the word may denote 'one who obtained a *vāhana*', alluding thereby to the high position of the progenitor of the dynasty in the Mauryan military service. Aḍiyārkkunallar, the commentator of *Silappadikāram*, equates it with Sattan, a village deity, while Przyluski derives it from the Muṇḍā words *sātam*=horse, and *happan*=son, i.e., 'one who has performed a horse-sacrifice.' The derivation of Sātakarṇi<sup>46</sup> is, similarly, obscure. It is a general surname among the Sātavāhanas and is attached to them in some way which cannot be ascertained for the present.

From the earliest Sātavāhana inscriptions at Nānāghāt, it is learnt that their first king was Simuka Sātavāhana. The *Matsya Purāṇa* says that Śiśuka (or Śimuka) was of the same caste as the Kāṇvāyanas, i.e., he was a Brāhmaṇa. In the present inscription also, Sātakarṇi's mother extols him as *eka-bambhaṇa*,<sup>47</sup> i.e., 'a unique or unrivalled Brāhmaṇa'. In the Nānāghāt inscription, the *gotra* of the Sātavāhanas

<sup>44</sup> *Sātam dattam sukham vāhanam yasya.*

<sup>45</sup> *Sātena yasmd dūḍho'bhavat tasmāttam Sātavāhana-nāmnācakāra.*

<sup>46</sup> The Purāṇas show other forms also, e.g., Svātikarṇa, Sāntikarṇi, etc.

<sup>47</sup> Some translate it as 'one of unique piety (*brāhmaṇya*)'.



is given as *Āṅgiya* which, according to *Gotra-pravara-nibandha*,<sup>48</sup> denotes a Brāhmaṇa family. Sātakarṇis were the descendants of Bhṛgu, and a Sātakarṇi ṛṣi (sage) is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Their prefixing of mother's name like Gautamī, Vāsiṣṭhī, etc., is also indicative of the Brāhmaṇa caste as evidenced by the Ghosunḍi and Śuṅga inscriptions, and Vedic and Epic literature. In the Nānāghāt inscription, the queen is said to be conversant with the Vedic rites and performing the intricate sacrifices herself. All these are taken to be positive proofs of the fact that the Sātavāhanas belonged to the Brāhmaṇa caste, and were not a non-Aryan tribe as supposed by Bühler.<sup>49</sup>

#### CHRONOLOGY OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

The chronology of the Sātavāhanas is a matter of great controversy. As we are not concerned with the early Sātavāhanas beginning with Simuka, we shall only discuss the chronology of the later Sātavāhanas. Prof. G. V. Rao says, "From Puṣumāyi<sup>50</sup> (I) to Gautamīputra is a very long leap. With the latter begins what may be called the later Sātavāhana period in the history of the Āndhras."<sup>51</sup> Gautamīputra came to the throne 105 years after the accession of Puṣumāyi I, during which interval seven Sātavāhana kings had ruled successively.

Now, the initial date of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is not known. He appears to be the first Sātavāhana monarch who issued epigraphs in his own name. As the records of all the kings of this dynasty, including those of Sātakarṇi himself, are dated in their respective regnal years without reference to any era, they are, therefore, not of much help

<sup>48</sup> Mysore edition, 1900, p. 167.

<sup>49</sup> JBORS, Pts., III-IV, p. 266.

<sup>50</sup> According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*, he is the 15th king in a list of 30.

<sup>51</sup> EHD, p. 91.



in arriving at some definite date for Gautamīputra's accession.

Some scholars identify Sātakarṇi with Vikramāditya of popular legends and Jain *gāthās*, who is associated with the Vikrama era of 57-58 B.C. They find some veiled hint in the epithets *para-vāraṇa-vikama-cāru-vikama* and *Saka. . . . nisūdana*.<sup>52</sup> But there is no evidence to show that the Sātavāhanas started an era; for, their records are all dated in their regnal years. References in the Indian literature also point to the fact that king Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī was a distinct person from Śālivāhana or Sātavāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna.

In Gautamīputra's Nāsik inscription of the year 18,<sup>53</sup> there is mention of one Usabhadāta who is identified with Uṣavadāta, the son-in-law of *Mahākṣatrapa* Nahapāna. In the present inscription, Sātakarṇi is extolled as 'the exterminator of the family of the Kṣaharatas'.<sup>54</sup> Among the Kṣaharāta kings, Nahapāna or one of his successors alone comes nearest to the time of Sātakarṇi's victory over their territories. The last date of Nahapāna is the year 46 on the Junnār inscription of his minister Ayama.<sup>55</sup> "The name Nahapāna is no doubt Persian," says Raychaudhuri, "but the Kṣaharāta tribe to which Nahapāna belonged was probably of Śaka extraction, and Uṣavadāta, son-in-law of Nahapāna, distinctly calls himself a Śaka. It is, therefore, probable that the era of 78 A.D. derives its name of Śaka era from the Śaka princes of the house of Nahapāna."<sup>56</sup> Again, as the term *varṣa* stands for the 'year' everywhere in the inscriptions of the Western Kṣatrapas, as it does in majority of the Śaka dates,<sup>57</sup> Prof. Rapson referred the

<sup>52</sup> *IAGM*, p. 35, lines 13, 19, 21.

<sup>53</sup> *Sel. Ins.*, p. 191.

<sup>54</sup> *IAGM*, p. 35, line 25, *Khakharāta-vasa-niravasesa-kara*.

<sup>55</sup> *Sel. Ins.*, p. 166.

<sup>56</sup> *P.HAI*, 6th ed. p. 485.

<sup>57</sup> *I. 4*, XXVI, p. 153.



dates of Uṣabhadata's and Ayama's inscriptions to the Śaka era."<sup>58</sup> He is of the opinion that Gautamīputra's conquest of Nahapāna seems undoubtedly to have taken place in the 18th year of his reign.<sup>59</sup> The view in favour of Śaka era is also shared by Raychaudhuri<sup>60</sup> and Sircar.<sup>61</sup>

According to this view, the last date of Nahapāna as well as of his dynasty would fall in  $(46 + 78 =) 124$  A.D., and the date of Gautamīputra's accession in  $(124 - 18 =) 106$  A.D. The last date of Sātakarṇi on one of his Nāsik inscriptions being 24, his reign may be taken to have terminated in A.D. 130.

Gautamīputra was succeeded by his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāyi who also reigned at least for 24 years as evidenced by a Kārle inscription of the year 24.<sup>62</sup> His reign would, therefore, fall between 130 and 154 A.D.

Cunningham, Dubreuil, and R. D. Banerji, on the other hand, believed that the recorded years of Nahapāna referred to the Vikrama era, but this view has been rejected by the later scholars. Criticism has also been raised against the Śaka era theory, and the following objections have been put forward :

(i) From the evidence of Ptolemy and the coins of Chaṣṭana bearing the Ujjayinī symbols, it is evident that at least some part of Ujjayinī was under the control of Chaṣṭana who was ruling there conjointly with his grandson Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman in the Śaka year 52 (A.D. 130).<sup>63</sup> It is, therefore, quite natural to suppose that he must have wrested that part of the territory from the Sātavāhanas, some time before that date. But, according to Rapson,

<sup>58</sup> *EHD*, p. 93.

<sup>59</sup> *CIC*, p. xxvii.

<sup>60</sup> *PHAI*, 6th ed., p. 495.

<sup>61</sup> *Sel. Ins.*, p. 157, fn. 1.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 203.

<sup>63</sup> *Andhau Ins. ibid.*, p. 167.



Gautamīputra did not lose any part of his dominion during his life-time.<sup>64</sup> Further, Rapson identifies Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāyi with Sātakarṇi, the Lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha whom Rudradāman claims to have defeated twice in fair fight and spared his life owing to nearness of relationship.<sup>65</sup>

(ii) Rapson further identifies Puḷumāyi with Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi of the Kaṇheri inscription who was the son-in-law of *Mahākṣatrapa* Ru(dra). But both these identifications are not tenable; for, (a) in none of the coins and inscriptions of Puḷumāyi, we find the surname Sātakarṇi affixed to his name, (b) according to Ptolemy,<sup>66</sup> Puḷumāyi was a contemporaneous of Chaṣṭana. In that case, he could not have married the daughter of Chaṣṭana's grandson Rudradāman, and (c) how could Puḷumāyi, whom Rapson takes to be Sātakarṇi, be the Lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha and reigning in A.D. 154, when Rudradāman had defeated him twice before A.D. 150?

(iii) It is admitted on all hands that the year 52 of the Andhāu inscription of Chaṣṭana and Rudradāman is dated in the Śaka era. If the last known year 46 of Nahapāna, as recorded in the Junnār inscription of Ayama, also be taken to belong to that era, the interval of only 6 years is too short a period for (a) the end of Nahapāna's reign, (b) the destruction of the Kṣaharātas, (c) Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's rule and his death, (d) the accession of his son Puḷumāyi, (e) Chaṣṭana's re-conquest of the lands between Cutch and Mālava, and (f) his rise to power in these regions as *Mahākṣatrapa*.<sup>67</sup>

In view of the above objections, the theory of referring the dates of Nahapāna to the Śaka era, also falls to the ground.

<sup>64</sup> *IAGM.*, p. 42, lines 9-10.

<sup>65</sup> See also *EHD*, p. 107. For opposite view, vide *Sel. Ins.*, p. 167, fn. 1.

<sup>66</sup> *AIP*, pp. 152, 176.

<sup>67</sup> *EHD*, p. 96.



According to another view, Sātavāhana chronology may be reconstructed from numismatic evidence. The coins show that Rudradāman's son Damaghasada was succeeded by his brother Rudrasimha I and his son Jīva-dāman who ruled alternately till 199 A.D. On two occasions, viz., A.D. 179-181 and A.D. 188-190, however, the office of *Mahākṣatrapa* remained vacant. It seems that during those occasions some other power had eclipsed the supremacy of the Śakas. According to Bhandarkar and Altekar, an Ābhīra king Īśvaradatta was the *Mahākṣatrapa* during the second occasion of A.D. 188 to 190. But Rapson puts the reign of Īśvaradatta between A.D. 236 and 239 with some certainty. Most probably, therefore, it was the Sātavāhana king Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi (A.D. 161-190), whose coins have been found in Saurāṣṭra, Aparānta, Chanda district in Madhya Pradesh, and Krishnā district in Āndhra, who conquered Rudrasimha I and reduced him to the subordinate position of a *Kṣatrapa* under him. It was after Yajñaśrī's death in A.D. 190 that Śakas regained power and revived the office of *Mahākṣatrapa*.

Thus, on the assumption that Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi's reign terminated in A.D. 190, the Sātavāhana chronology may be represented by the following table :<sup>68</sup>

|                        |                |
|------------------------|----------------|
| Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi | c. 99-123 A.D. |
| Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāyi | c. 123-147 „   |
| Śiva Śrī Sātakarṇi     | c. 147-154 „   |
| Śiva-Skanda Sātakarṇi  |                |
| or                     |                |
| Śivamaka-Śāda          | c. 154-161 „   |
| Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi     | c. 161-190 „   |

Prof. G. V. Rao has also studied the question of Sātavāhana chronology in detail and after a careful consideration of the contemporary literary and epigraphic evidence as

<sup>68</sup> *EHNI*, pp. 124-125.



well as that of the *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Viṣṇu* Purāṇas, has come to the following conclusion regarding the dates of the later Sātavāhanas :

|                        |            |
|------------------------|------------|
| Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi | 62-86 A.D. |
| Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāyi | 86-114 „   |
| Śiva Śrī Sātakarṇi     | 114-121 „  |
| Śivaskanda             | 121-128 „  |
| Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi     | 128-157 „  |

We do not propose to enter the field of controversy proper.<sup>69</sup> Suffice it to say that scholars are widely divided in their opinion regarding the exact dates of Gautamīputra's reign, e.g., A.D. 106-130 (Rapson); A.D. 77-101 (H. C. Ghose);<sup>70</sup> c. A.D. 82-106 (K. Gopalachari);<sup>71</sup> and c. A. D. 72-95 (K. Gopalachari's corrected view).<sup>72</sup>

As a matter of fact, the period between the 2nd century B. C. and the rise of the Guptas is a dark period of Indian history. The chronology of the Sātavāhanas is greatly confused owing to the conflicting testimonies of the Purāṇas, literature and foreign writers. Prof. G. V. Rao himself says about his own conclusions that "this dating of Gautamīputra's reign from A.D. 62 to 86 runs counter to various other theories now in the field. So many have been the dates assigned and so different that they range from c. 40 B. C. to 124 A.D. This may indicate what a headache is the chronology of the late Sātavāhanas to the student of Āndhra history."<sup>73</sup>

Prof. Rao elsewhere says, "In attempting the history of Sātavāhana rule, we are treading on uncertain and controversial ground. It is more or less an essay in probabilities.

<sup>69</sup> For details vide *EHD*, pp. 91-112.

<sup>70</sup> *IHQ*, VI, 1930, pp. 750ff.

<sup>71</sup> *EHAC*, pp. 63ff.

<sup>72</sup> *CHIN*, pp. 310-12.

<sup>73</sup> *EHD*, p. 91.



An inscription here and a coin there, mixed up reliefs, figures and doubtful architectural alignments, disputed synchronisms and uncorroborated Purāṇic texts, undated or insufficiently dated epigraphs with palaeography as the only guide to determine their sequence in time : this, in brief is the nature of the material on which any history of the Sātavāhanas must be based.”<sup>74</sup>

In face of such a sharp difference in opinions of the scholars, it is best to leave the question of Sātavāhana chronology open till cogent arguments could be adduced or decisive evidence is available in favour of a particular theory.

#### CAREER AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF GAUTAMĪPUTRA SĀTAKARṆI

The career of Gautamīputra was marked by his remarkable achievements.<sup>75</sup> A major part of his reign was probably spent in equipping and strengthening his forces for the tremendous enterprise of exterminating the Kshaharātas (Kṣaharātas) who had been responsible for the diminution of the Sātavāhana empire. In the seventh year of his rule, his victorious forces marched against Māmālāhāra in Poona district, and in the eighth year they attacked the southern Mahārāṣṭra. Nahapāna and his son-in-law Usabhadāta (or Uṣavadāta) were extirpated and killed, and the Kṣaharāta dynasty came to an end. Gautamīputra re-struck the coins of Nahapāna. Similarly, in the western part of the Deccan, the power of the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas was wiped out, and their feudatories subjugated.

By re-conquering the lost territories of his dynasty, Gautamīputra washed off the disgrace which had sullied his family for about half a century. Among the former

<sup>74</sup> *EHD*, p. 113.

<sup>75</sup> See also *CHIN*, pp. 312ff, and *PHAI*, 6th ed., pp. 491ff.



territories of the Sātavāhanas which he recovered, are mentioned Asika (Rṣika), Asaka (Aśmaka), Mūlaka, Aparānta, Anūpa, Vidarbha, Ākara and Avanti. Kukura and Surāṣṭra he seized from the *Kṣatrapas* and possibly the intervening provinces of Ānarta, Śvabhra and Maru also, though they are not specifically mentioned in the record. His sovereignty over the mountain regions of Pāriyātra, Vindhya, Rkṣavat, Sahya, Kṛṣṇagiri, Macha, Śrīstana, Malaya, Mahendra, Seṭagiri and Chakora is also proclaimed, which include the whole of the montane terrain from Vindhya to the Travancore hills in the south, and from Mahendra and Chakora (embracing Kalinga and Āndhradeśa in the east) to the mountain Sahya in the Western Ghāts.

A careful examination of the Nāsik inscription shows that Gautamīputra recovered not only the former Sātavāhana possessions from Nahapāna, but also conquered countries lying outside the Kṣaharāta empire. He, no doubt, conquered the districts of Sūrat, Nāsik, Thānā and Poonā from Nahapāna, but his conquests south of Poona were beyond the bounds of the Kṣaharāta territories. A detailed account of Gautamīputra's campaigns is given by Dr. M. Rama Rao in one of his excellent articles.<sup>76</sup> Over 2,000 lead coins were recovered from the excavations at Brahmapurī near Kolhāpur. Most of them belonged to the three Kura kings, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Viḷivāyakura, Māṭharīputra Sivalakura and Gautamīputra Viḷivāyakura, but they also contained 8 lead pieces belonging to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāyī. From the similarity of the matronyms of the kings and of the symbols and characters of the legends on their coins with those of the later Sātavāhanas, Dr. Rao has shown that the Kura kings, who were originally independent, were conquered and subjugated by Gautamīputra, and Kolhāpur

<sup>76</sup> *PIHC*, 1954, pp. 110-114.



region was brought under his control. Similarly, excavations at Chandravalli near Chittaldoorg in Mysore also yielded some lead and potin coins of Puṣumāyi and Yajñaśrī of the imperial Sātavāhana dynasty. These coins indicate that Chittaldoorg region was under the rule of these two kings. As Puṣumāyi is not known to have made any fresh conquests, Dr. Rao has pointed out unmistakably to the fact that the Chittaldoorg region was conquered by Gautamīputra from Mahārathī kings whose coins, bearing close resemblance to the Sātavāhana coins, have been found there.

Again, the coins of the two kings, Chuṭukulānanda and Mudānanda, of the Ananda family, resembling the coins of the Mahārathī and Kura kings, were recovered from the excavation at Karwar in North Kanārā district. In Dr. Rao's opinion, the North Kanārā region was conquered by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi from the Ānandas of Vaijayanti.

In view of these successful campaigns of conquest, it is no wonder that Gautamīputra assumed the glorious and sovereign title of *Rāja-rāja-mahārāja*. The title *Svāmin*<sup>77</sup> he borrowed from the Kṣaharatas. Much highflown praise is showered on him. For instance, besides mentioning him as the conqueror of numerous battles and as flaunting his inviolable and victorious banner over his invulnerable capital, he is extolled as equal in valour to Rāma, Keśava, Arjuna and Bhīmasena, and matching in lustre to Nābhāga, Nahuṣa, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, (Bala-) rāma and Ambarīṣa.<sup>78</sup> This hyperbolic panegyric is only a poetic way of expressing his great power and influence.

*His Munificence* : Gautamīputra was very munificent in making grants of lands and caves to the Buddhist monks,

<sup>77</sup> *Sel. Ins.*, p. 191, *Svāmi-Gotamīputro siri-Sādakaṇi*, and fn. 4.

<sup>78</sup> *IAGM*, p. 36, lines 4, 6, 8.



and even outstripped his rival Kṣatrapas in this respect, except that he favoured only the Mahāsa gṛhikas at Kārle and the Bhadāyaniyas at Nāsik, whereas the Kṣatrapas patronized the monks from all quarters (*chātudisā-bhikkhu-sagha*). He is said to have built the city of Benākataka. His epithets *dujīāvara-kuṭuba-vivadbana* and *eṣa-bambana*<sup>79</sup> show his patronage of the Brāhmaṇas also. But he did not celebrate his victories by performing sacrifices. He maintained the fourfold order (*varṇa-dharma*) of the society by prohibiting the promiscuous intermixture of the *varṇas*, but the formation of sub-castes on a vocational basis was not checked.<sup>80</sup> This may not be considered a reform in modern times, but keeping in view that *varṇa-dharma* was the back-bone of the society of those times, prevention of indiscriminate intermixture and contamination of the *varṇas* was considered a great achievement from the social standpoint.

*His Education, etc.* : He had received the full education necessary for a royal prince, and was conversant with every branch of knowledge of those times. He was very punctilious about his public duties and administered the State affairs according to the injunctions of the *Śāstras*, duly apportioning his time and place to the fulfilment of the three objects of human existence (*viṣ.*, pursuit of virtue, wealth and ambition). He showed mercy even to the offending foes, gave asylum to the virtuous and noble, kept human interests paramount in all his activities. He dispensed justice with impartiality and treated all persons with equality, irrespective of caste and creed. Thus, Gautamīputra Sātakarni appears to have been an ideal monarch according to the Indian conception of a king.

<sup>79</sup> *ibid.*, p. 35, line 23, and p. 36, line 5.

<sup>80</sup> *CHIN*, p. 314.



## ŚAKA-SĀTAVĀHANA CONFLICT

Chaṣṭana, who was the son of Ysāmotika of the Kārdamaka family, and who, after the death of Nahapāna, seems to have been appointed by the Kuṣāṇas as the viceroy of the south-western provinces of their empire, endeavoured to recover the lost districts from the Sātavāhanas who were their immediate neighbours in the south. Chaṣṭana bore the title of *Mahākṣatrapa* and appointed his son Jayadāman as *Kṣatrapa* under him to assist him in administration. But Jayadāman died early and was succeeded by his son Rudradāman I, who was associated with his grandfather Chaṣṭana as shown by an inscription found at Andhau in Kachchha, dated in the Śaka year 52 (A.D. 130).<sup>81</sup>

The Śaka-Sātavāhana struggle was indeed a prolonged one, beginning from the time of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi who wrested a part of the dominions of the Kṣaharāta prince Nahapāna and also re-struck his silver coins. Thus, the indigenous power of the Sātavāhanas was gradually extending towards the north, and the Śakas were determined to put an end to it. Ptolemy refers to Chaṣṭana of Ujjain as a contemporary of Puṣumāyi. This shows that Chaṣṭana had conquered Ujjain (Western Mālava) from the Sātavāhanas. According to Dr. Sircar this conquest occurred during the life-time of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.<sup>82</sup> But Rapson is against this view. From the Nāsik inscription, however, it appears that Gautamīputra's empire remained intact up to the time of this inscription (i.e., the 19th regnal year of Puṣumāyi) at least. For, if there had been any loss of territory before that time, the high-sounding praise of his father by his grandmother would have implied gratuitous insult to her obedient and dutiful grand-

<sup>81</sup> *AIU.*, pp. 182f.

<sup>82</sup> *Sel. Ins.*, p. 167, fn. 1.



son. Balasiri, who was a noble and virtuous lady belonging to a royal family, even when disconsolate, could hardly be expected to wound the feelings of her grandson by such discourtesy. Chaṣṭana's conquest of Ujjāyini from Puḷumāyi must, therefore, have occurred afterwards.<sup>83</sup>

The process of conquering the Sātavāhana territories initiated by Chaṣṭana, does not appear to have come to a stop, but had continued with increasing intensity so that in A.D. 150, we find Rudradāman, the grandson of Chaṣṭana, claiming to have defeated Sātakarṇi twice and recovered most of the northern districts of the latter's dominions originally conquered from Nahapāna as stated above. Rudradāman was a great warrior, and the Jūnāgaḍh inscription<sup>84</sup> represents him as the lord of Ākara, Avanti, Anūpa, Aparānta, Surāṣṭra and Ānarta which he had conquered from the Sātavāhanas, probably when he was a *Kṣatrapa* under his grandfather.

But, an inscription from Kanheri<sup>85</sup> supplies an additional information, mentioning a Kārddamaka princess, the daughter of *Mahākṣatrapa* Ru(dra), who is generally identified with Rudradāman, as the wife of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi. Now, as regards the identification of this Sātakarṇi, there is a good deal of controversy. D. C. Sircar,<sup>86</sup> D. R. Bhandarkar,<sup>87</sup> and others identify him with Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. But according to Rapson, there is no evidence to show that Gautamīputra lost any part of his dominions during his life-time. Rapson identifies Sātakarṇi with Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāyi whom he equates with Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi of the Kanheri inscription, the husband of the daughter of Ru(dra). But, in the first place,

<sup>83</sup> ED, p. 107.

<sup>84</sup> IAGM, p. 42.

<sup>85</sup>

<sup>86</sup> AIU, p. 183.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid, p. 202.



Puḷumāyi does not adopt the surname of Sātakarṇi on any of his inscriptions or coins, and secondly, according to Ptolemy, as stated above, he was a contemporary of Chaṣṭana, and therefore was too old to marry Chaṣṭana's great-grand-daughter. Hence the identification of the defeated Sātakarṇi with Puḷumāyi is not tenable. Raychaudhuri thinks it more probable that the defeated ruler was Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi himself who might have been a brother or a predecessor of Puḷumāyi.<sup>88</sup> According to S. Chattopadhyaya, Sātakarṇi in question may possibly be Śiṣa Śrī Sātakarṇi who, as the Purāṇas state, ruled for 13 years and was a successor of Puḷumāyi.<sup>89</sup> Prof. G. V. Rao believes him to be Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi who ruled from A. D. 128 to 157.<sup>90</sup>

In view of all these conflicting statements, the exact position of the Sātakarṇi defeated by Rudradāman or of the Kaṇheri inscription in the Sātavāhana genealogy and chronology cannot be precisely determined. Anyway, we may safely say that the Śaka-Sātavāhana struggle was concluded with the double victory of Rudradāman over Sātakarṇi whom he did not destroy owing to close relationship.

<sup>88</sup> *PHAI*, 6th ed., p. 508.

<sup>89</sup> *EHNI*, p. 103.

<sup>90</sup> *FHD.*, p. 108.



### ABBREVIATIONS

- A I P—Ancient India by Ptolemy—McCrindle.  
A I U—Age of Imperial Unity—Bharatiya Vidya Bhavana.  
C H I N—Comprehensive History of India—Nilakanta Śāstri.  
C I C—Catalogue of Indian Coins, Āndhra, etc.—Rapson.  
E H A C—Early History of Āndhra Country—K. Gopalachāri.  
E H D—Early History of the Deccan—Ed. Yazdani.  
E H N I—Early History of North India—S. Chattopadhyaya.  
H C—Harṣacarita of Bāṇa.  
H G A I—Historical Geography of Ancient India—B. C. Law.  
I A—Indian Antiquary.  
I A G M—Some Important Inscriptions of Aśoka, Guptas, Maukharis and others; Texts—Sadhu Ram.  
I H Q—Indian Historical Quarterly—Calcutta.  
Jāt.—Jataka.  
J B O R S—Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society.  
J N S I—Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.  
P H A I—Political History of Ancient India, 6th ed., Ray Chaudhari.  
P I H C—Proceedings of Indian History Congress.  
Sel. Ins.—Select Inscriptions—D. C. Sirkar.  
S I I—South Indian Inscriptions—Hutzsch.  
Stud. Ind.—Studies in Indology—V. V. Mirashi.







## DAŚAPADĀRTHAŚĀSTRA

By Dr. KARUNESHA SHUKLA\*

The *Daśapadārthaśāstra* of Maticandra, otherwise known as *Daśapadārthī* is a small Vaiśeṣika treatise dealing with ten categories, dravya, guṇa, karṇa, sāmānya, viśeṣa, samavāya, śakti, aśakti, sāmānya-viśeṣa and asattvā (or Abhāva), as opposed to six or seven categories ordinarily accepted and enumerated in the Vaiśeṣika treatises. This work is lost in its Sanskrit original, but its translation in the Chinese Tripitaka<sup>1</sup> translated by Yuan Chuang (c. 648 A.D.) is available<sup>2</sup> and Prof. H. Ui has presented an authentic English translation of the text (from its Chinese version) in his *Vaiśeṣika Philosophy*,<sup>3</sup> and the text presented here is the Sanskrit restoration of the treatise based on this translation.

The text has got its unique importance from the point of the view of the study of the development of the Vaiśeṣika categories (Padārthas). In the *Vaiśeṣika sūtras* and the *raśastapādabhāṣya* only six *bhāva* categories have been enumerated, but in the present treatise, ten categories instead of the six or seven (including the *abhāva* also) have been accepted. Before the seventh category of *abhāva* was finally recognised in the Vaiśeṣika system, it is probable, several theories recognising ten or less or more categories were propounded, but since these categories were non-essential and irrelevant for the purpose of the system, keeping in view the padārtha-vijñāna of the Vaiśeṣikas

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<sup>1</sup> Shan-tsun-shi-cu-i-lun.

<sup>2</sup> H. Ui, *Vaiśeṣika Philosophy*, Intr., P. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. 1917; 1962; Pp. 93-119.



only seven categories were finally recognised and the remaining dropped. Thus the present tract represents an important phase in the history of Vaiśeṣika philosophy.

We have tried to be accurate in our rendering and have followed the English translation presented by Prof. Ui, but at places we had to deviate keeping in view the usual terminology prevalent in the extant works of the Vaiśeṣika system. All such deviations and differences have been pointed out and noticed in the footnotes, while some alternate translations, which, though not in accordance with the English rendering, were found more suitable and hence they have been inserted in the notes.

We have preferred the term '*asattva*' instead of *abhāva* since it represents an early phase of the development of categories.<sup>4</sup>

In the part (I) only the Sanskrit restoration (Ch. I, II) is being presented, introduction and notes will follow next (in the second part)<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup>. For justification, see, fn. 84.

<sup>5</sup> Abbreviations—

E.T. English Translation of the text from its Chinese version.

A.T.—Alternate translation.

V. S.—*Vaiśeṣika Sūtras*.

P.—Page.



## दशपदार्थशास्त्रम् (दशपदार्थी)

## प्रथमोऽध्यायः

## दशपदार्थानां विशेषधर्माः ।

## प्रथममाल्लिकम्—दश पदार्थाः ।

द्रव्य-गुण-कर्म-सामान्य-विशेष-समवाय-शक्त्यशक्ति-सामान्यविशेषासत्त्वानि<sup>1</sup>  
दश पदार्थाः<sup>2</sup> ॥१॥

## द्वितीयमाल्लिकम्—द्रव्यम्

को (नाम) द्रव्यपदार्थः ? नव द्रव्याणि द्रव्यपदार्थ (इति) उच्यन्ते ॥१॥  
कानि नव द्रव्याणि ? पृथिव्यप्तेजोवाय्वाकाशकालदिगात्ममनांसि<sup>3</sup> नव द्रव्याणि ॥२॥

(तत्र) का<sup>4</sup> पृथिवी ? रूपरसगन्धस्पर्शवती पृथिवीत्युच्यते ॥३॥

का आपः ? रूपरसस्पर्शद्रवत्वस्नेहवत्य आपः ॥४॥

किं तेजः ? रूपस्पर्शवत्तेजः ॥५॥

को वायुः ? स्पर्शवान् वायुः ॥६॥

किमाकाशम् ? शब्दवदाकाशम् ॥७॥

कः कालः ? यौगपद्यायौगपद्य-चिर-क्षिप्र-परत्वापरत्वप्रत्ययहेतुः कालः ॥८॥

का दिक् ? प्राची-दक्षिण-प्रतीच्युदीच्यादिप्रतीतिहेतुदिक् ॥९॥

क आत्मा ? ज्ञानसमवायिकारणप्रत्ययः सुखदुःखेच्छाधर्माधर्मादिलिङ्ग<sup>5</sup>  
आत्मा ॥१०॥

<sup>1</sup> See, V. S., IX. 1.4, 7, 8, 9; the word non-existence अभाव may be suggested as an alternative translation. See, infra, fn. 84 and Part II Introduction and Notes.

<sup>2</sup> According to the E-t. दश पदार्थाः should be in the beginning.

<sup>3</sup> E-T. adds एतानि or इति

<sup>4</sup> कतमा may also be translated instead of का

<sup>4a</sup> E.T. इति may be dropped. According to the E.T. in each definition there should be यः यत् or याः in the beginning and सः, तत् or ताः in the end, as the case may be. But keeping in view the general usage of the extant Vaiśeṣika literature we have dropped this यत् or तत्

<sup>5</sup> Another way of rendering would be— ज्ञानसमवायिकारणप्रत्ययः सुखदुःखेच्छाद्वेषप्रयत्नसंस्कारधर्माधर्मादिलिङ्गवान् आत्मा ।



किं मनः? ज्ञानस्यासमवायिकारणप्रत्ययं<sup>6</sup> सुखदुःखेच्छाद्वेषप्रयत्नधर्माधर्म-  
संस्कारलिङ्गञ्च मनः ॥११॥

तृतीयमाह्निकम्-गुणाः

को (नाम<sup>7</sup>) गुणपदार्थः? चतुर्विंशतिगुणा गुणपदार्थ<sup>8</sup> उच्यन्ते ॥१॥  
के चतुर्विंशतिगुणाः? रूपरसगन्ध-स्पर्श-सङ्ख्या-परिमाण-पृथक्त्व-संयोग-  
विभाग-परत्वापरत्व-बुद्धि-सुखदुःखेच्छा-द्वेष-प्रयत्न-गुरुत्व-द्रवत्व-स्नेह-संस्कार-धर्माधर्म-  
शब्दा इति चतुर्विंशतिगुणाः<sup>9</sup> ॥२॥

किं रूपम्? एकाश्रय<sup>10</sup>वांश्चक्षुरिन्द्रियप्रत्यक्षो<sup>11</sup> गुणो<sup>11-a</sup> (रूपम्) ॥३॥

को रसः? एकाश्रयवान् रसनेन्द्रियगोचरो<sup>12</sup> गुणो<sup>11-a</sup> (रसः) ॥४॥

कः स्पर्शः? एकाश्रयवान्<sup>10</sup> त्वगिन्द्रियप्रत्यक्षो<sup>11</sup> गुणः<sup>11-a</sup> (स्पर्शः) ॥५॥

का सङ्ख्या<sup>13</sup>? द्रव्याणामेकत्वानेकत्वप्रतीति<sup>14</sup>हेतवः सर्वद्रव्यसमवेता एकत्वा-  
दयः (गुणाः) सङ्ख्या<sup>15</sup> ॥६॥

किं परिमाणम्? अणुत्वं, महत्त्वं ह्रस्वत्वं दीर्घत्वं पारिमाण्डल्यञ्चेत्यादयः<sup>16</sup>  
परिमाणमुच्यन्ते<sup>17</sup> ॥७॥

अणुत्वं (तावत्<sup>18</sup>) द्व्यणुकसम<sup>19</sup>वायिकारणः परमाणुद्वयसंहतस्यैकस्य द्रव्यस्या-  
णुत्वप्रतीतिहेतुश्च गुणः<sup>11-a</sup> ॥८॥

<sup>6</sup> A-t- ज्ञानासमवायिकारणप्रत्ययं—

<sup>7</sup> E.T. does not suggest this. But the usage prevalent in the extant Vaiśeṣika literature agrees with this rendering.

<sup>8</sup> इति may be added here.

<sup>9</sup> A-t- रूपं रसो गन्धः स्पर्शः परिमाणपृथक्त्वे संयोगविभागौ परत्वापरत्वे बुद्धयः  
सुखदुःखे इच्छाद्वेषौ प्रयत्नो गुरुत्वद्रवत्वे स्नेहः संस्कारः धर्माधर्मौ शब्द इति चतुर्विंशति-  
गुणाः ।

<sup>10</sup> A-t- एकाश्रयः

<sup>11</sup> A-t- गोचरः

<sup>11a</sup> गुणविशेषः may also be suggested as an alternative rendering.

<sup>12</sup> A-t- प्रत्यक्षः

<sup>13</sup> A-t- काः संख्याः ?

<sup>14</sup> A-t- प्रत्ययः

<sup>15</sup> A-t- सर्वद्रव्यसमवेता द्रव्याणामेकत्वानेकत्वप्रतीतिहेतव एकत्वादयः ।

<sup>16</sup> A-t- संख्या । It may also be rendered as चेत्यादीनि चेति ।

<sup>17</sup> A-t- अणुत्व-महत्त्व-ह्रस्वत्व-दीर्घत्व-पारिमाण्डल्यादीनि परिमाणमुच्य (न्)-  
ते ।

<sup>18</sup> Added by us. E.T. omits it.

<sup>19</sup> E.T. adds संज्ञागत ।



महत्त्वं (तु<sup>18</sup>) अनेकत्वकार्यस्य गुणादिविशिष्टसङ्घातसमवेतो<sup>20</sup> द्रव्य-  
महत्त्वप्रतीतिहेतु<sup>21</sup>गुणः ॥९॥

ह्रस्वत्वं (च) द्व्यणुकसमवायिकारणः<sup>22</sup> परमाणुद्वयसंहतद्रव्यस्य ह्रस्वत्व-  
प्रतीतिहेतु<sup>23</sup>गुणः ॥१०॥

दीर्घत्वं त्वनेकत्वहेतुकस्त्र्यणुकादिसङ्घातविशेषसमवेतः<sup>24</sup> द्रव्यदीर्घत्वप्रतीति-  
हेतुगुणः<sup>25</sup> ॥११॥

पारिमाण्डल्यं द्विविधम्-परममाणुत्व परममहत्त्वञ्च ॥१२॥

तत्र परम(त)(म)णुत्वमणुषु समवेतः, तैः संयुक्तश्च,<sup>26</sup> द्रव्यपरमाणुत्व-  
व्यवहार<sup>27</sup>हेतुगुणः ॥१३॥

परममहत्त्वं चाकाशकालदिगात्मसु<sup>28</sup> समवेतो द्रव्यस्य परममहत्त्वप्रती<sup>29</sup>ति-  
हेतुश्च गुणः। अयं सर्वव्यापक<sup>30</sup> इत्यप्युच्यते ॥१४॥

किं (नाम<sup>31</sup>) पृथक्त्वम्? पृथक्त्वं ताव<sup>31</sup>देकपृथक्त्वादिसर्वद्रव्यसमवेता गुणाः,  
एकानेकद्रव्यपृथ<sup>32</sup>क्त्वप्रतीति<sup>33</sup>हेतुश्च गुणः<sup>34</sup> ॥१५॥

कः संयोगः? एष<sup>34</sup> एव संयोग<sup>35</sup> उच्यते यदा द्वे पृथक् वस्तुनी परस्परं 35-a  
संयुज्येते ॥१६॥

<sup>20</sup> A-t- त्र्यणुकादौ संघातविशेषे (विशिष्टसंघाते) समवेतः Most accurate rendering would be यः संहननविशेषप्रकटितस्त्र्यणुकादिस्तत्र समवेतः (is inherent in a ternary atomic compound etc. which arises from a certain aggregation).

<sup>21</sup> A-t- द्रव्यस्य महत्त्वप्रत्ययहेतुः, यदेकं द्रव्यं महदिति प्रत्ययस्य हेतुः द्रव्य-  
महत्त्वप्रत्ययहेतुः।

<sup>22</sup> A-t- हेतुकः।

ह्रस्वत्वप्रत्ययहेतुश्च।

<sup>24</sup> Vide supra, fn. 20.

<sup>25</sup> Vide supra, fn. 21.

<sup>26</sup> A-t- तद्वांश्च।

<sup>27</sup> प्रतीति or प्रत्यय may also be rendered instead of व्यवहार।

<sup>28</sup> E-T- दिगात्मद्रव्येषु।

<sup>29</sup> A-t- प्रत्यय।

<sup>30</sup> A-t- सर्वत्रगः, सर्वगतः, सर्वाभिव्यापकः।

<sup>31</sup> May be dropped. Added by us.

<sup>32</sup> A-t- एकस्यैकाधिकद्रव्याणां वा परस्परं पृथक्त्वप्रत्ययहेतुगुणविशेषः।

<sup>33</sup> May be replaced by व्यवहार also.

<sup>34</sup> It refers to पृथक्त्वगुणः।

<sup>35</sup> इति may be added here.

<sup>35</sup> -a- A-t- अन्योज्यं मिथः।



अयं त्रिविधः—संयुक्तयोरन्यतरकर्मजः<sup>36</sup>, उभयकर्मजः, संयोगजश्चेति ॥१७॥  
(तत्र<sup>37</sup>) संयुक्तान्यतरकर्मजो<sup>38</sup> (नाम<sup>37</sup>) क्रियावता निष्क्रियस्य संयोगः<sup>31</sup>

॥१८॥

उभयकर्मजः क्रियावतोः संयोगः<sup>40</sup> ॥१९॥

संयोगजस्तु<sup>37</sup> यत्रा<sup>41</sup>नेकद्रव्यात्मकं निष्क्रियं वस्तु(तत्संयोगेन) उत्पादे सति<sup>4</sup>  
आकाशादिना संयुज्यते ॥२०॥

को विभागः? संयुक्तयोः परस्परं विसंयोगो विभागः ॥२१॥

स<sup>43</sup> त्रिविधः—विसंयुक्तान्यतरकर्मजो<sup>44</sup> विभागः, उभयकर्मजो विभागः,  
विभागजो विभागश्च ॥२२॥

तत्रान्यतरकर्मज उभयकर्मजश्च<sup>45</sup> संयोगसादृश्येन<sup>46</sup> व्याख्यातौ ॥२३॥

विभागजस्तु<sup>47</sup> यत्र पूर्वोत्पन्नकार्यं कारणान्तरेण (स्व-)कारणविभागाद-  
वयवेभ्यस्तदुपरि च कार्यद्रव्यनाशे सत्याकाशादिभ्यश्च विसंयुज्यते<sup>48</sup> ॥२४॥

किं परत्वम्? परत्वं (नाम<sup>41</sup>) एकद्रव्यजनित एककालिकादिद्रव्यस्य सन्नि-  
कृष्टप्रत्ययाश्रयः परत्वव्यवहारहेतुगुणविशेषः<sup>49</sup> ॥२५॥

किमपरत्वम्? अपरत्वं (नाम) एकद्रव्यजनित एककालिकादिद्रव्यस्य  
सन्निकृष्टप्रत्ययाश्रयोऽपरव्यवहारहेतुगुणविशेषः<sup>49</sup> ॥२६॥

<sup>36</sup> Another way of rendering would be संयुक्तान्यतरकर्मजः न  
अन्यतरकर्मजः ।

<sup>37</sup> Added by us.

<sup>38</sup> A-t- अन्यतरकर्मजः ।

<sup>39</sup> E. T. क्रियावन्निष्क्रिययोजनितः संयोगः ।

<sup>40</sup> E.T. क्रियावद्भ्यां जनितः ।

<sup>41</sup> The whole sentence may be translated as संयोगजश्चानेक-  
द्रव्यात्मकनिष्क्रियस्य वस्तुनो (द्रव्यसंयोगाद्) उत्पादे सति आकाशादिना संयोगः ।

Both these renderings are according to the translation.

But the original seems to be संयोगजस्तु उत्पन्नमात्रस्यैव निष्क्रियस्य कारण-  
संयोगिभिरकारणैः (आकाशादिभिः) संयोगः ।

<sup>42</sup> A-t- उत्पन्नं सत् ।

<sup>43</sup> A-t- अयम् ।

<sup>44</sup> May also be rendered as विसंयुक्तयोरन्यतरकर्मजः and अन्यतरकर्मजः

<sup>45</sup> E.T. adds here विभागौ ।

<sup>46</sup> May also be rendered दृष्टान्तेन ।

<sup>47</sup> E.T. adds विभागः ।

<sup>48</sup> A-t- विभागजस्तु कारणान्तरेण (स्व)कारणविभागात् कार्यस्यावयवेभ्यो  
विभागः, (कार्य)द्रव्यनाशे सत्याकाशादेर्विभागश्च ।

<sup>49</sup> Omitted in the Translation.



का बुद्धिः ? यया सर्वं बुध्यते सा बुद्धिः ॥२७॥

तदेष्टा<sup>50</sup> द्विविधा-प्रत्यक्षमनुमानञ्च ॥२८॥

(तत्र<sup>51</sup>) प्रत्यक्ष<sup>52</sup>मिन्द्रियादीनां तत्तद् द्रव्यस्य रूपादिगुणसन्निकर्षेण जनि-  
तोपलब्धिः<sup>53</sup> ॥२९॥

अनुमानं द्विविधम्-लैङ्गिकम्, अलैङ्गिकञ्च ॥३०॥

(तत्र<sup>51</sup>) लैङ्गिकं (तावत्) सर्वथा दृष्ट<sup>54</sup>स्यानुमितस्य वस्तुनो लिङ्गदर्शना-  
दनुमितेन सार्द्धं लिङ्गस्य परामर्शेणाऽऽत्ममनःसंयोगेन च वस्तुज्ञानजनकमनुमानम्  
॥३१॥

अलैङ्गिकन्तु<sup>51</sup> अदृश्यवस्तूनां कारण-कार्य-संयुक्तपदार्थदर्शनेन (तत्र) सम-  
श्वेतपदार्थदर्शनेन विपरीतवस्तुदर्शनेन वा प्रत्येकं सम्बन्धपरामर्शेणात्ममनःसंयोगेन  
च (तेषां) सर्वविधज्ञानजनकमनुमानम् ॥३२॥

किं सुखम् ? सुखं सन्तोषलक्षण<sup>55</sup> आत्मगुणः<sup>56</sup> ॥३३॥

किं दुःखम् ? दुःखमात्मगुणः<sup>56</sup> प्रतिघातलक्षण (स्वरूप)श्च<sup>57</sup> ॥३४॥

का इच्छा ? इच्छाऽऽत्मसमवेतो<sup>56</sup> गुणो रूपादिभी रज्यते च ॥३५॥

को द्वेषः ? द्वेष आत्मसमवेतो<sup>56</sup> गुणो रूपादींस्तितिक्षते च ॥३६॥

कः प्रयत्नः ? प्रयत्न आत्मसमवेतो<sup>56</sup> गुणः इच्छाद्वेषसम्प्रयुक्ताऽऽत्ममनः-  
सन्निकर्षेण जनितः संस्कारविशेषश्च ॥३७॥

<sup>50</sup> तद् is omitted in the Translation.

<sup>51</sup> Added by us. Omitted in the Translation.

<sup>52</sup> This may also be kept in the end.

<sup>53</sup> A-t- जनितोपलब्धिः, जनितः प्रत्ययः ।

<sup>54</sup> Translation says—'the whole of which is not seen; which ought to be rendered as पूर्णतः; but the original seems to be सर्वथा which is translated as 'entirely', 'in its entirety.'

<sup>55</sup> It should be kept in the end according to the translation; E.T.  
सन्तोषश्चास्य स्वरूपम् ।

<sup>56</sup> In accordance with the translation, the exact rendering should be आत्मैकद्रव्यो गुणः (the quality of one substance, i.e. Ātman), but since the word द्रव्य has been used, the word समवेत (inherent in) should also be incorporated as the meaning remains unexpressed without adding it. Then the translation will be- आत्मैकद्रव्यसमवेतो गुणः and not only आत्मैकद्रव्यो गुणः or omitting the words एक (one) and द्रव्यः (Substance), it should be आत्मगुणः which will suffice the purpose of the use of the words, both एक and द्रव्य as well as समवेत ।

<sup>57</sup> See, supra, fn. 55.

<sup>58</sup> E.T. adds द्रव्य ।

<sup>59</sup> A-t- पात ।



किं गुरुत्वम्? गुरुत्वं (नाम<sup>18</sup>) पृथिव्यप्समवेतो द्रव्यस्याधःपतनहेतुश्च गुणः<sup>60</sup> ॥३८॥

किं द्रवत्वम्? द्रवत्वं (नाम) पृथिव्यप्तेजःसमवेतो गुणो द्रव्यनि<sup>61</sup>प्यन्दहेतुश्च ॥३९॥

कः स्नेहः? स्नेहो (नाम) अप्द्रव्यसमवेतो गुणः पृथिव्यादिवदेकद्रव्यसङ्ग्रह- (मृजादि)<sup>62</sup> हेतुश्च ॥४०॥

कः संस्कारः? संस्कारो द्विविधः-स्मृतिहेतुः क्रियाहेतुश्च ॥४१॥

(तत्र<sup>18</sup>) स्मृतिहेतुस्तावत्<sup>18</sup> आत्मसमवेतः प्रत्यक्षानुमितार्थज्ञानजो<sup>63</sup> मानस-संस्कारविशेषः ॥४२॥

क्रियाहेतुश्च<sup>18</sup> (संस्कारो<sup>13</sup>) नोदनाद्युत्थक्रियाजनित एक (द्रव्य) श्रयो भूतद्रव्यवान् वेगः । एवंविधः संस्कारस्तु वेगः<sup>64</sup> ॥४३॥

को धर्मः? धर्मो द्विविधः-प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्तिश्च ॥४४॥

प्रवृत्तिस्ता<sup>18</sup>वदिष्टे देहादौ सुखावाप्तिहेतुरात्मसमवेत एकद्रव्यनाशसमर्थश्च (गुणः<sup>65</sup>) ॥४५॥

निवृत्तिश्च (च) परप्रमायां सुखोपलब्धिहेतु रागनिर्मुक्त आत्मसमवेत एक-द्रव्यनाशनसमर्थश्च<sup>66</sup> (गुणः<sup>65</sup>) ॥४६॥

कः शब्दः? एक (द्रव्या) श्रयः श्रोत्रप्रत्यक्षश्च (गुणः<sup>65</sup>) शब्दः ॥४७॥

### चतुर्थमाह्निकम्-कर्म

कः कर्मपदार्थः? पञ्च कर्माणि कर्मपदार्थ<sup>67</sup> उच्यन्ते ॥१॥

कानि पञ्च कर्माणि? तानि चोत्क्षेपणावक्षेपणाकुञ्चनप्रसारणगमना- (ख्या)<sup>68</sup>नि कर्माणि ॥२॥

किमुत्क्षेपणं कर्म? ऊर्ध्वमधोमध्यप्रदेश आकाशादौ च पूर्वसंयुक्तयोः (यथा, अण्वा- दयः), विसंयोगकारणमेकद्रव्याश्रयमुत्क्षेपणं कर्म ॥३॥

<sup>60</sup> E.T. keeps it after समवेतो ।

<sup>61</sup> E.T. adds एक ।

<sup>62</sup> 'Smoothness etc.'; added according to the *Padārtha-dharma-saṅgraha*, P. 266 (Vizianagaram Series, edition Ed. by Pt. Vindheshwari Pd. Dwivedi with *Kandalī* 1895).

<sup>63</sup> The usual terminology prevalent in the Vaiśeṣika texts is: दृष्टश्रुतानुभूतार्थज्ञानजः ।

<sup>64</sup> A-t- अयन्तु वेग एव ।

<sup>65</sup> Omitted by E.T.

<sup>66</sup> E.T. says : 'destroys one substance by its effect.'

<sup>67</sup> इति may be added here.

<sup>68</sup> Omitted in the E.T. and added by us.



किमवक्षेपणं कर्म? ऊर्ध्वमधो मध्ये च (प्रदेशे) आकाशादौ च विसंयुक्तयोः  
संयोगकारणभैकद्रव्याश्रयमवक्षेपणं कर्म<sup>69</sup> ॥४॥

किमाकुञ्चनं कर्म? आकुञ्चनं तावद् दीर्घायतद्रव्यवृत्ति, एकद्रव्याश्रयं,  
विसंयोगस्य कारणञ्च<sup>70</sup> यस्मिन् समीपान्तनियतं वस्तु अन्यस्माद्<sup>71</sup> विसंयुक्तेन समी-  
पस्थदेशेन संयुज्यते ॥५॥

किं प्रसारणं कर्म? प्रसारणञ्च दीर्घायतद्रव्यवृत्ति, एकद्रव्याश्रयं, विसंयोग-  
हेतुश्च यत्र समीपान्तनियतं वस्तु अन्य (प्रदेश) संयुक्तादन्तिकस्थदेशाद्विसंयुज्यते ॥६॥

किं गमनं कर्म? गमनं कर्म तु तद्यत् सर्वेषु मूर्तद्रव्येषु समवेयात्<sup>72</sup> एकद्रव्याश्रयं  
संयोगवि (सं) योगकारणं (च भवति)<sup>73</sup> ॥७॥

### पञ्चममाह्निकम्-सामान्यम्

कः सामान्यपदार्थः? सत्तैव सामान्यपदार्थः ॥१॥

का सत्ता? सत्ता तु सा या सर्वेषु पदार्थेषु समवेता, तद्यथा द्रव्यं गुणः कर्म  
च<sup>74</sup> सर्वेन्द्रियप्रत्यक्षा, द्रव्यगुणकर्मणां सत्ता प्रत्यभिज्ञानहेतुश्च भवति ॥२॥

### षष्ठमाह्निकम्-विशेषः

को (नाम<sup>18</sup>) विशेषपदार्थः<sup>76</sup>, द्रव्यमात्रवृत्तिरेकद्रव्याश्रयः परव्यावृत्तिबुद्धि-  
हेतुरेक (वस्तु<sup>76</sup>) निर्धारणश्च विशेषः ॥१॥

### सप्तममाह्निकम्-समवायः

कः समवायपदार्थः? द्रव्यादिष्वयुतसिद्धत्वेन प्रत्यभिज्ञानहेतुर्यदिह (एकमन्य-  
स्मिन् वस्तुनि)<sup>77</sup> अस्ति। एकमस्य सत्त्वम् ॥१॥

### अष्टममाह्निकम्-शक्तिः

कः शक्तिपदार्थः? द्रव्यगुणकर्मसु समवेतस्तैरयुतसिद्धत्वेन संयुक्तः<sup>78</sup>, कदाचित्तु

<sup>69</sup> A-t- उत्क्षेपणाख्यकर्म ।

<sup>70</sup> A-t- विसंयोगहेतुश्च ।

<sup>71</sup> E.T. adds वस्तुनः ।

<sup>72</sup> A-t- यत् सर्वमूर्तद्रव्यसमवेतं भवेत् ।

<sup>73</sup> Added by us.

<sup>74</sup> A-t- सत्ता तु द्रव्यगुणकर्मसु समवेता ।

<sup>75</sup> A-t- विशेषः कतमः (कः)

<sup>76</sup> Added by us.

<sup>77</sup> A-t- एकमन्यत्र etc.; this has been added in E.T.

<sup>78</sup> A-t- सम्बद्धः, संयुक्तः, अविच्छेद्यतया संबुक्तः ।



मिथः साहाय्येन तेषां स्वसामान्यकार्यजनने हेतुः, कदाचिच्च स्वातन्त्र्येण<sup>79</sup> तेषां विशेष-कार्योत्पत्तावविच्छेद्यो हेतुः<sup>80</sup> शक्तिपदार्थः ॥१॥

#### नवममार्त्तिकम्-अशक्तिः

कोऽशक्तिपदार्थः ? द्रव्यगुणकर्मसु समवेतस्तैरविच्छेद्यतया (अयुतसिद्धत्वेन) संयुक्तो<sup>80a</sup> मिथः साहाय्येन तेषां सामान्यकार्यजनने (ऽनुत्पत्तौ) स्वातन्त्र्येण विशेष-कार्यस्य चानुत्पत्तावविभाज्यो (-अविच्छेद्यो) हेतुः (पदार्थो) अशक्तिपदार्थः ॥१॥

#### दशममार्त्तिकम्-सामान्यविशेषः

कः सामान्यविशेषपदार्थः ? द्रव्यत्वगुणत्वकर्मत्वानि तथा प्रत्येकमेतेषु त्रिषु पदार्थेषु निहिते वस्तुन्येकत्र समवेतानि पृथिवीत्व-रूपत्व-वर्णत्वोत्क्षेपणत्वादीनि च सामान्यविशेषपदार्थः ॥१॥

तत्र द्रव्यत्वं सर्वद्रव्यसमवेतं सर्वद्रव्याणां द्रव्यत्वप्रत्ययकारणं<sup>81</sup> यदिदं द्रव्यम्, गुणकर्मस्वविद्यमानं चक्षुःस्पर्शेन्द्रियप्रत्यक्षं च ॥२॥

गुणत्वं च सर्वगुणसमवेतं सर्वगुणानां गुणत्वप्रत्ययकारणं<sup>82</sup> यदिदं गुण इति, द्रव्य-कर्मस्वविद्यमानं चक्षुःस्पर्शेन्द्रियप्रत्यक्षञ्च ॥३॥

कर्मत्वं च सर्वकर्मसमवेतं सर्वकर्मणां कर्मत्वप्रत्ययकारणं<sup>83</sup> यदिदं कर्म इति, द्रव्य-गुणेष्वविद्यमानं चक्षुःस्पर्शानोभयेन्द्रियप्रत्यक्षं च ॥४॥

#### एकादशममार्त्तिकम्-असत्त्वम्<sup>84</sup>

कोऽसत्त्व (अभाव) पदार्थः ? पञ्चासत्त्वान्यसत्त्वपदार्थ उच्यन्ते ॥१॥

<sup>79</sup> A-t- पृथक्तया ।

<sup>80</sup> Added by us.

<sup>80a</sup> See Supra, fn. 78.

<sup>81</sup> A-t- द्रव्यत्वबुद्धिहेतुः ।

<sup>82</sup> Same as in fn. 81.

<sup>83</sup> See fn. 81.

<sup>84</sup> A-t- अभाव The present work is an early Vaiśeṣika treatise which represents one of the lost sub-schools of the Vaiśeṣikas. It deals with ten instead of six (as already enumerated in the V.S.) or seven categories as usually enumerated in the subsequent literature. It seems probable that after the six categories of the V.S. were developed into a group of seven categories (adding *Abhāva* or Non-existence thereto), there was an intermediate development in the internal history of the doctrinal developments and changes of the Vaiśeṣika System. And this development envisaged the recognition of ten categories instead of the six already enumerated in the V.S. adding thereto the four categories of Śakti, Aśakti, Sāmānya-Viśeṣa and Asattva. As this development came midway between the early systematisation of the Vaiśeṣika doctrines and the later development in the form of the recognition of seven categories, and as it is near the time of the V.S., the last category might have been named 'Asattva'.



कानि तानि पञ्चासत्त्वानि ? प्रागसत्त्वम्, अनन्तरासत्त्वम्<sup>86</sup> अन्योज्या-  
सत्त्वम्, स्वाभाविकासत्त्वम्<sup>86</sup>, अत्यन्तासत्त्वञ्चेत्येतानि पञ्चासत्त्वानि ॥२॥

(तत्र<sup>18</sup>) प्रागसत्त्वञ्च<sup>18</sup> यत्र द्रव्यगुणकर्मणां कारणानि<sup>87</sup> निमित्तानि च<sup>88</sup> न  
संयुज्यन्ते कार्यञ्चापि नोत्पद्यते ॥३॥

(Non-existence) which is in consonance with the terminology used by the *Vaiśeṣika Sūtras* (asat, vide, *V. S. IX. i. I, 4, 7, 8*, with *Upas-kāra* and the *Vṛtti* of Candrānanda, Ed. H. H. Shri Bhuwana Vjayaaji Mahārāja, Gos, No. 136, Baroda, 1961.) and not Abhāva (Negation). Perhaps the term Abhāva was coined later on when only seven categories were recognised instead of the ten enumerated and recognised in the present treatise and more than that also. One may be referred to Śivāditya's *Saptapadārthī*, (2, (P. 5), Ahmedabad Ed., 1963), where the number seven of categories has been advocated against those maintaining more than seven categories and recognition of Aśakti as a separate category has clearly been refuted (No. 98, P. 41). A thorough study of the *Saptapadārthī* reveals that except the seven categories usually recognised in Vaiśeṣika school wedded with the Neo-Logical System (NavyaNyāya) Śakti already enumerated in the present treatise along with its counter-category. Aśakti, Viśiṣṭi (probably the same as the Sāmānya-viśeṣa of our treatise, also to be traced in the *V. S. VIII. 1.5, 6*), Sādrśya, Laghutva, and Jñātātā among others were recognised as separate categories, while several others were also separately enumerated (such as Saṅkhyā, Nitya, 'dravyas' and Anitya—vide, *ibid*, P. 41-43). It seems probable therefore that Abhāva or the category of Negation was coined later on and it was termed 'Asattva' though conceived in the same way in the early phase of the Vaiśeṣika Philosophy, one aspect of which the present treatise represents.

It would therefore be not improper to hold that the category of Abhāva was termed 'Asattva' before 3rd or 4th Century A.D. It may be remarked here that the Asattva of effect before its production was assumed by the Vaiśeṣikas and this doctrine was equally shared by the Naiyāyikas which was later on developed into the form of Ārambhavāda or Asatkāryavāda. The category of Abhāva was later on conceived on the basis of this 'Asattva' of the effect. It may also be noted here that some of the categories recognised herein (such as aśakti) were not in consonance with the doctrine of the Asatkāryavāda itself. These points will be elaborately discussed in the Second part of the present book (Introduction and Notes, Section 3).

<sup>85</sup> A-t- पश्चादसत्त्वम् ।

<sup>86</sup> Prof. H. Ui construes it as identical with संसर्गभाव, but संसर्गभाव may be equated with अन्योज्यासत्त्व hence, संसर्गभाव (सत्त्व) does not stand as a separate kind of असत्त्व (अभाव) स्वाभाविकमसत्त्वम् seems to suggest the general nature of असत्त्व (अभाव) ।

<sup>87</sup> E.T. suggests here कारणम् ।

<sup>88</sup> According to E.T.; it might be कारणनिमित्तानि ।



अतन्तरासत्त्वन्तु<sup>89</sup> यत्र स्वकारणशक्तिव्ययानन्तरं विनाशार्थनिमित्तोत्पत्त्यनन्तरं वा (पूर्वम्<sup>89</sup>) उत्पन्नानि द्रव्यगुणकर्माणि विनश्यन्ति ॥४॥

अन्योऽन्यासत्त्वञ्च येन किञ्चिद् द्रव्यादिकं नान्योऽन्यमपरत्र विद्यते ॥५॥

स्वाभाविकासत्त्वं (संसर्गासत्त्वं) तावद् येन सत्त्वं द्रव्यादीनि चैकत्र संयोगाय वा पूर्णतो निवासाय वा न सङ्ग्रहमुपयान्ति<sup>90</sup> ॥६॥

अत्यन्तासत्त्वन्तु<sup>18</sup> येनैकं वस्तु नोत्पादयितुं प्रत्युत्पन्नेऽतीतेऽनागते वा सर्वथा नाविर्भावयितुं शक्यते, यतो नास्यार्थं हि कारणं विद्यते<sup>91</sup> ॥७॥

॥इति श्री मतिचन्द्राचार्यरचिते वैशेषिकदशपदार्थशास्त्रे संस्कृतभाषायां दश-  
पदार्थविशेषधर्माख्यः प्रथमोऽध्यायः समाप्तः<sup>92</sup> ॥

<sup>89</sup> Added by us.

<sup>90</sup> A-t- संग्रहमागच्छन्ति, संग्रहमायान्ति ।

<sup>91</sup> E.T. 'because there is no cause for it; A-t- अकारणवत्वादस्य, अत्यन्तासत्त्वात् ।

<sup>92</sup> There is no colophon in the Translation. This has been supplied by us.



## PLACE OF ŚRĪKṚṢṆA IN THE REALM OF THE INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

By, DR. RAMESHCHANDRA S. BETAĪ, M.A. PH.D.

It is too well-known that Lord Kṛṣṇa weilds the greatest influence on the Hindu mind even in the modern days. A very large majority of our places of pilgrimage worship one or the other form of Kṛṣṇa. Tradition has known this singer of the Song Celestial in the form of the *Gītā*, as the God of Gods,<sup>1</sup> the Lord of Līlā,<sup>2</sup> Yogeśvara, the love incarnate of millions of devotees, the singular God, who is deeply loved and at the same time commands respect and inspires the worst of the sinners to confession. Hindu religion and faith have reckoned this son of Vasudeva and Devakī as the destroyer of sins; the protector of the worthy; the finest incarnation of Viṣṇu, nay, Brahman Himself. Countless sects know Lord Kṛṣṇa as the first of the Gods and worship him as Puruṣottama. In the *Gītā*, that is said to have been sung by him, he calls himself *ara Brahma* and asks Arjuna and with him all men to devote themselves entirely to Him.<sup>3</sup>

In this modern age of rationalism and fondness for the study of the deepest secrets of the human mind, we know that there are Gods that were originally extraordinary great men, whom human nature has transformed into Gods. We know from the great epic *Mahābhārata* and from the

<sup>1</sup> Vide Maṅgalācaraṇa in *Bhagavadgītā*, last verse.

<sup>2</sup> Particularly referred to in these words by the Vallabha sect.

<sup>3</sup> Vide *Gītā* IV. 9, 10; VII. 14, 19; VIII. 7, 14, 16 etc. and also various verses in IX, X and XI Chapters.



*Bhāgavata* that Kṛṣṇa is a historical figure of Himālayan heights. There are several incidents in the very long life of this revolutionary great man that became mythical in the days that followed and transformed this magnanimous historical figure into a great God, later into the God of Gods. "Man does not live by bread alone but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God" states the *Bible*. Man, it is a fact beyond doubt, lives primarily on faith, *Śraddhā*, and then on reason.<sup>4</sup> The faith in the divinity of Lord Kṛṣṇa has given new light, life and inspiration and confidence to many a Hindu sects to continue to live in the midst of the worst of trials and tribulations. Marx stated that 'Religion is opium for people'<sup>5</sup> but, even for an independent development of the personality of man, faith in the supreme power of God plays a very great power.<sup>6</sup> Even to-day we can state that if man has no faith in God, he has no faith in himself. The faith in Lord Kṛṣṇa has been a very great strength of the Hindus for more than two thousand years.

As we make an attempt to understand the exact position of this Lord Kṛṣṇa in the cultural history of the Hindus, we should, first of all take note of some of the most important incidents in the life of Lord Kṛṣṇa and analyse them.

(1) Kṛṣṇa, himself of black complexion is always paired with Rādhā the white. The idea underlying the love of Kṛṣṇa towards this bewitching Rādhā is the ideal,

<sup>4</sup> It is true that modern science has deprived many of us of faith in God. But science has not the capacity to give another faith to man and that explains why there is so much misery in our life to-day.

<sup>5</sup> He said so because he believed that religion gave faith in the other life and deprived the suffering have-nots of their independent power of action and revolution.

<sup>6</sup> The faith that the so called Atheists have in atheism is almost god like faith and so, we can state without hesitation that there is no real atheist on earth.



finally of the love of Ātman and Brahman, just as, on the other side, it indicates in the opinion of some of the historians, an amalgamation of the Āryan and non-Āryan cultures in the Āryan fold. The basis of this view is of course not finally proved. But, it is too well-known that several of the customs, festivals and gods of the Anāryas have been Āryanised and have attained to very prominent position in the Āryan life.

(2) The pair of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa has inspired to the finest poetry, countless poets, and also so many philosophers have written on it. For more than two thousand years, Kṛṣṇa has merged the Hindus in so many Bhakti cults and ultimately, Kṛṣṇa has himself taken many forms.<sup>7</sup> The devotion that Mohammud Saheb and Lord Jesus Christ inspired can stand in no comparison with the devotion that Lord Kṛṣṇa commanded.

(3) At the time of the great *Mahābhārata* battle, Kṛṣṇa placed the Yādavas on the side of the Kauravas and he as their leader preferred to take the side of the Pāṇḍavas but refused to fight. The interesting question is, why did Lord Kṛṣṇa refuse to fight and decide to act only as the charioteer of Arjuna?

(4) The next important fact is that in the words of Yogeśvara, Lord Kṛṣṇa insists that Arjuna should fight the battle as a Kṣatriya, while he himself prefers to renounce the weapons. The question is, why did he behave in this rather queer looking way?

(5) It is too well-known that both as the lover of Rādhā and the singer of the sacred *Gītā*, Lord Kṛṣṇa has ruled over the hearts of millions of Hindus for centuries. As the lover of Rādhā and the inspirer of the Gopīs, he seems to be a worldly man to superficial sight and as the singer of the Song Celestial, he is the philosopher and God

<sup>7</sup> Some of these are—Raṇachodrai, Viṭṭhala, Śrī Nāthaji, Śwāmīnārāyaṇa etc.



Almighty,<sup>8</sup> singing the words of unique wisdom<sup>9</sup>. What does all this drive at?

These are some of the facts of his life and questions that can satisfactorily be answered only when we study the historical and cultural importance of Lord Kṛṣṇa.

A brief study of the peculiarity of Hindu religion and philosophy and a study of Lord Kṛṣṇa's philosophy in the *Gītā* is necessary before we can answer the above questions.

The following may, in brief be stated to be the outstanding peculiarities of the Hindu religion :

(1) The spirit of tolerance and a gradual assimilation of countless non-Āryan and foreign tribes into the Āryan fold, giving the status of Āryatva to most of them is a very remarkable feature of Hinduism. Hindus have made of Lord Buddha an Avatāra, even though the Buddhists have never spared their criticism against Hinduism. This is just one of the many illustrations of the spirit of tolerance and the process of assimilation. The Hindus have always been anxious and prepared to hear the differing views of others. They have never thought it necessary to spread their religion as most others have done.<sup>10</sup> It is because of this that there are so many variant sects under the vast fold of Hinduism and the common tenets of Hinduism apply fully to all. In India, unity amidst variety is a remarkable feature to be noted.

(2) Another remarkable feature is the view that even if philosophically, this world is transitory and this human life mortal, no spirit of pessimism that has over-

<sup>8</sup> Vide some of the verses in the *Gītā* in the fifth Adhyāya as also the 11th.

<sup>9</sup> Vide सर्वोपनिषदो गावो दोग्धा गोपालनन्दनः ।

पार्थो वत्सः सुधीर्भोक्ता दुग्धं गीतामृतं महत् ॥

<sup>10</sup> In fact, Hindus hold that religion is a matter of inherent experience and so externally, it cannot be spread thus.



come Buddhism and Jainism should be allowed to prevail in life. The joys of this life, worldly fame, riches etc. are not denied. In fact, *Artha* and *Kāma* are *urusārthas* along with *Dharma* as their leader and a proper combination of these leads to *Mokṣa*. That explains why duty also to this life is not neglected. That also explains why Kṛṣṇa enjoins selfless preference of *Kāma* even for a man who has renounced the world.

(3) The whole preaching of Hinduism is in full accord with the inherent nature of man, who is accepted as he is, with all his weaknesses and strength and who is therefore expected to develop to the highest purpose of his existence as a human being *through* life.<sup>11</sup> The four stages of life, the four *Āśramas* through which man is expected to pass as a natural course, are naturally born of man's natural mental leanings and development, which covers up this and the other life.

(4) Naturally, therefore, this life is not looked upon as an end. It is a means to the higher life, the life of the spirit.

(5) Hindus are advised, carefully to avoid extremes, either of materialism or of spiritualism, while a man lives on this earth and his body and soul are together. Man is asked to cultivate a spirit of realism and a sense of propriety. He is therefore advised not to create a mental dislike towards life and at the same time asked not to be attached ever much to anything in life. This asks man to lead life in a spirit of *Tyāga*. This spirit deepens man's interest in life and makes him heroically successful in life without allowing his personality to be merged in the transitoriness of this world.

(6) In Hindu life, religion, ethics and philosophy can never be separated one from the other. This is because

<sup>11</sup> Vide *Manusmṛti*.



the three are not matters of belief and proclamation but matters of faith and practice. An essential unity of the three is always taken for granted. Religion without ethics and philosophy is inconceivable in India.

Śaṅkara's absolute monism is the highest development of the Hindu philosophy of Brahman. But philosophy of Brahman is not the only philosophy in India as some have alleged.<sup>12</sup> Actually, Hindu philosophy looks upon this and the higher life as a unity, or, at the most, this life is looked upon as a means to the end in form of the higher life. King Janaka, Yājñavalkya, Vasiṣṭha, Gautama and many others symbolise this peculiar attitude of Hindu philosophy in so far as they led this life and at the same time became the greatest saints and philosophers of India. It can never be forgotten that most of the sages and gods of the Hindus are married. In the modern days, Gandhiji, Devendranath Tagore, Rabindranath and many others symbolise the same philosophical attitude.<sup>13</sup>

Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa, Kṛṣṇa and Rāma etc. are some of our very important Gods after whom variant sects are formed and established in India. Being an Avatāra of Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa is not different from him. He commands the largest following in India, and, not only so many saint-poets of all various languages, but even philosophers like Rāmānuja, Madhva, Vallabha etc. have worshipped him as the highest God. As we saw above, Kṛṣṇa has assumed so many forms and names—Bāla Kṛṣṇa, Nārāyaṇa, Śrī Nāthaji, Ramacandraji, Viṭṭhala and Bālāji

<sup>12</sup> Therefore, the charge of pessimism against the Hindu philosophy, the view that 'There is practically no ethical philosophy within the frontiers of Hindu thinking' (Farquhar) and many others are far from truth.

<sup>13</sup> There is of course always a scope for exceptions, but these represent the highest development of only one particular aspect while the general representative attitude always remains the same.



being the chief among them.<sup>14</sup> Again, there can be controversies on the value of the *Bhāṣyas* of Śrī Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja etc. but the *Bhagavadgītā*, sung by Lord Kṛṣṇa has become the song-celestial for all sects and it commands the greatest veneration in this country that is full of varying religious following.

The reason of this importance of Kṛṣṇa is not far to seek. Kṛṣṇa in one form or another represents the above mentioned peculiarities of the Hindu religion and the Hindu philosophy. To the average mind, a concrete form of God is necessary for the worship of the highest. It is natural that the Hindus or that way, any people in the world will give the greatest importance to that God who naturally represents almost all the chief peculiarities of their religion and philosophy-peculiarities that feed their inner urge to the best in the most natural way. The Hindu has always led a life full of morals, fineness, devotion, worship and concentration on the highest, and this God has naturally been the representative and the feeder of the inmost urges and necessities of the Hindu mind. It is these peculiarities again, that have kept Hinduism and the Hindu alive inspite of unparalleled calamities suffered by it, and inspite of the opponents of this religion trying more than once to wash out the very name of Hinduism from the face of Hindustan. Lord Kṛṣṇa has been the solace and support of helpless Hindus for all these centuries and, in its days of apex of glory, Lord Kṛṣṇa has contributed the best that a man deified as God could do to bring a culture to its glorious heights.

This is the reason why he has ever been the real living force for us, the Hindus. Lord Kṛṣṇa lives till Hinduism

<sup>14</sup> He is known as Puruṣottama and Nārāyaṇa and, it is said that "He brings to the ignorant the light of knowledge, to the feeble the power of strength, to the sinner the liberation of forgiveness, to the suffering the peace of mercy, to the comfortless comfort. . ."



lives. Kṛṣṇa is eternal as the finest representative of the very central doctrine of Hindu religions and philosophy, of the best that Hindu life, religion and culture could give. He is alive to-day, he is in every drop of our blood and he keeps us alert, upright and healthy-mentally emotionally and spiritually.



## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ABHINAVĀGUPTA. AN HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL STUDY. By Dr. K. C. Pandey, M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt., Śāstrī, PP. LII : 1014 : Published by Chowkhamba Sanskrit. Series office, Varanasi. Price-Rs. 40/.

Abhinavagupta is a reputed writer of several books on different branches of literature. Such as dramaturgy, poetics and philosophy. Although his contribution to philosophy of Kashmir Śaivism, was more voluminous important and original in a way, he is more known as an writer on aesthetic than as a philosopher. In this volume the author not minimising the importance of Abhinavagupta's contribution on aesthetics has presented him as a philosopher, an exponent of Kashmir Śaivism.

This book was first published in 1935 with a short foreword by the late M. M. Dr. Ganganatha Jha. We are very happy to see its Second edition much improved. It is divided into two parts, the first part dealing with the historical aspect and the second part with philosophical aspect. In the first part the author has given a biographical sketch of Abhinavagupta and a critical description of his work, in the first two chapters. In the last two chapters 5th and 6th under "Historical Background of his Thought" and "His importance and influence" the author has traced the history of Tantric and philosophical trends in Kashmir from the earliest times giving a critical account of works and authors whom Abhinavagupta has mentioned in his works and of those who have mentioned him in their works. In connection with Abhinavagupta's Commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Dhvanyāloka* an historical account of these two branches of literature, is given so



far as it has bearing on Abhinavagupta's works. Chapters 3 and 4 contain a discussion about the authorship of the two works, e.g. *Paryanta Pañcāsikā* and *Ghaṭakarpara-kāvya*. The second part is exclusively devoted to the historical and doctrinal survey of the three branches of Kashmir Śaivism-Pratyabhijñā, Krama and Kula separately. Kashmir Śaivism is not so popular even today in other parts of India. Intrinsically it is a difficult system and requires some amount of philosophical grounding to grasp it. When a student not acquainted with the philosophical trends is introduced into the subtleties of this system, he naturally gets confused. In order to allay this difficulty the author has given a very good exposition of these systems which would to some extent enable students to understand their principles. In this connection the author has resorted to criticise and refute the doctrines of other systems following the lines of Abhinavagupta. Taking the book as a whole it is a very valuable contribution especially to the Kashmir Śaiva system which has not been so far fully studied by young scholars. By his profuse references to a large number of authors and works which have the slightest bearing on the subject on hand, lengthy discussions about the identity of authors and their dates and controversies about the authorship of a particular work which would well be looked upon as not much concerned with the subject proper, the author has shown evidence of his great erudition and eagerness to make his work as exhaustive as possible, which in fact it deserves to be. The fact that necessity is felt for a second edition of this book is enough proof of its popularity among scholars. We congratulate the author for his continued interest and contribution to our knowledge. At the end I express my hope to see more from his pen.



PRAKRITA-PAINGALAM. (A Test on Prakṛita and Apabhramṣa Metres). Part I Edited by Dr. Bhola Shankar Vyas as No. 2 of The Prakṛita Text Society Series of Varanasi. Published by The Prakṛita Text Society, Varanasi. To be had of : Messrs. Motilal Banarasidasa, Nepali Khapra, Post Box 75, Varanasi. Price Rs. 16.

This is the second text published by the Prakṛita Text Society. It is a well-known medieval work on Prakṛita and Apabhramṣa metres but its importance for the study of the Mid-Indo-Aryan languages in their various provincial forms like Old Gujrati, Old Maithili, Old Bengali, etc., has come to be realised only during recent years. The book has, therefore, been prescribed in many of the Indian Universities as a text-book for Apabhramṣa and Mid-Indo-Aryan linguistics for some time past. As the extant edition of the work prepared by Chandramohan Ghosha had become unobtainable, it was a happy decision of the Prakṛita Text Society to take up its publication. It is going to be published in two parts : Part One which is under review has the text, Hindi translation, variant readings, philological notes, three Sanskrit commentaries and a glossary of Apabhramṣa and Prakṛita words occurring in the text. Part Two will present the editor's comprehensive introduction dealing with the problems of the authorship, and date of the work together with a critical and comparative study of the metres and the language and also a critical evaluation of the literary worth of the illustrations given by the author himself.

The text of this edition is based on the two earlier editions and three new Mss. The most important feature of this edition is the publication of a Sanskrit commentary called *Pinṅala-Sāra-Vikāśinī* by one Ravikara Mishra. Dr. Vasudeva Sharan Agrawala in his *Foreword* brings out its importance. He says, Ravikara, son of Harihara, is known



to us. "In all probability this Harihara seems to be identical with Haribamha or Hariharabramha mentioned in verses 108 and 115 of the '*Prākṛita-Paiṅgalam*.' . . . In this connection it may be mentioned that Vidyāpati in his *Kīrtilatā* states that Harihara was the Minister of Law and Justice of Kīrtisīmha (1390-1400 A. D.)". In the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* of Vidyāpati as commented by the Maithili poet Candā Jhā I may point out we have a mention of an old tradition in Mithilā that Devāditya an ancestor of Vidyāpati and contemporary of Mahārāja Śakrasīmha (c. 1284—96 A.D.) obtained the title of *Mantrirājatilaka* for helping Emperor Allauddin in the siege of Ranathambhore (1300-1301 A. D.). This makes it probable that Maithila scholars especially round about the date of Caṇḍeśwara (c. 1324 A. D.) who was both a great warrior and scholar and is mentioned in the *Prākṛita-Paiṅgalam* along with Hariharabrahma went to Rajasthan. The epithet "*Hammīradhvāntabhānuḥ*" for him makes it reasonable to connect the verses on Mammīra in the *Prākṛita-Paiṅgala* with Caṇḍeśwara and Hariharabrahmabhāṭṭa.

Now a linguistic study of its text reveals a lot of confirmatory material. There are various forms, various words, various idiomatic expressions which betray the Maithili touches to the text. I shall point out a few such cases and leave the subject for further investigation by scholars. The conclusion is irresistible that the language of the *Prākṛita-Paiṅgalam* is an important source of Old Maithili and that it requires to be studied in the light of Vidyāpati's Avahatṭha works and the *Varṇa-Ratnākara* and other specimens of Old Maithili. I am confident that it will lead to many important conclusions. We undoubtedly possess a great clue to a version of the language of this work in the history of Mithilā round about Caṇḍeśwara (1324 A. D.) and the rise of vernacular poetry in Maithili at such an early date as 1324 A. D.



Here are some of the characteristically Maithili expressions in this work :

## SECTION I

हेओ (verse 3) ; तुहुँ (७) ; जीहा (८) ; तिणिण (८) ; अरेरे वाहहि कान्ह णाव, छोडि डगमग कुमति ण देहि । तहँ इथि णदिहिँ सँतार देई, जो चाहहि सो लेहि ॥ ९ ॥ ; किछु, सुण्ण फल, घरणि, पुणु, खस, (३८) ; मिटावहि, उवरल, जत—तत (४१) ; गाव, मिलाव (४८) ; छट्ठम (५२) ; चंडेसर वर किस्ती (५३) ; से (६९) ; भुणु (७०) ; चारि (८१ एवम् अनेकशः) ; एगारह (९१ एवम् अनेकशः) ; तणिह (९१) ; एह (९७ तथा अनेकशः) ; गोरिणारि (१०१) ; ठेल्लि पैल्लि (१०६) ; खंड किअ, पसाए, वरमंति चंडेसर (१०८) ; बहिर (११६) ; बेआसी, सत्तार, बढ, ह (१२१) ; भसल (१२२) ; एहि (१२४) ; घम्मक (क as षष्ठी विभक्ति also in २९३) ; घणि (१३२) ; चारिम (contrast चउठा for *fourth* in १३४), मंतिवर वीर हम्मीर—अंधार आण खुरसाणक ओल्ला (क is षष्ठी विभक्ति, 'ओल्ला, may refer to hailstorm or to ओल a vegetable), दरमरि दमसि मारु दिल्ली महँ ढोला (१४७) ; एम परि (cf. Modern ऐँ परि) ; सोहए—मोहए, सुमरु (१५८) ; पुणु घसइ पुणु खसइ पुणु ललइ पुणु घुमइ, मुअल ('ल—ending is typical Maithili), मलआगिरि कुहर घरिपवन बह, सहव कह सुण सहि णिअल णहि कंत (१६३) ; लोरहिँ भरु (=नोरहिँ भरु), घरिणी (१८०), ससुर (२०९) ।

## SECTION II

ओगरभत्ता रंभ अपत्ता, गाइक धित्ता दुद्धसजुत्ता । मोइणि मच्छा णालिच गच्छा, दिज्जइ कंता खा पुणवन्ता (९३) ; मत्तह (१००, the ह—ending is found in Jyotirīśvara's *Varṇaratnākara* (c. 1324 A. D.) also ठामा ठामा (=modern ठाम ठाम (११३, १८१) ; त्रिणि (१२५, १५८) ; पंचम (१४०) ; देखु (१४२), गाछे—आछे (१४४) ; चउरासी (१४६), चामर (१४८), चलाउ, चलू (१७१) ; पुरहु (१८४), कहइ, अमिअकर, णिक (१९१) ; भित्तरि, संभारि (=modern सम्भारि) (१९५) दीस (=दिसि २१३; १९७), फुल्लिअ, हीआ (=modern. हिआ), आउ, पासे (२०३) ; टोप्पर (=टोप्पर) (२०९) ; चोबिस, बत्तिस (२१०) ; डाहु (२१५) ॥



THE KAUTALIYA ARTHAŚĀSTRA. Parts 1 and 2. Text and Translation by R. P. Kangle M. A. PP. 18 : 284 : 8 and 14 : 606. Published by the University of Bombay. Price Rs. 10/ and Rs. 20/.

The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya is undoubtedly a monumental work on the Science of politics and statecraft. Although it belongs to a period several centuries before Christ the principles laid down in it will be found to be applicable to the present times. The minute details set forth regarding every aspect of behaviour and conduct according to the ancient tradition of the Indian people have drawn the admiration not only of Indians but also of great statesmen and administrators of the modern civilized world. The work of such great antiquity and importance was for the first time published in 1909 by Shama Sastri in Mysore Government Oriental Series. A revised and better edition was next published in 1923 in the Travancore Govt. Series by T. Ganapati Sastri along with his own commentary in Sanskrit. Since then scholars took greater interest in this work and an edition embodying the results of the latest researches was really a necessity. This is now fulfilled by Prof. R. P. Kangle. The numerous foot-notes giving variant readings is a clear indication to the labourious work involved in collating and comparing not only the printed editions but also the available manuscript material to bring out this edition. It often becomes a problem which to choose when the editor is confronted with two or more readings of the same text. Prof. Kangle has tried to get over this difficulty and to make his edition dependable. The glossary of Sanskrit words given at the end will be found useful.

Part 2 is a literal English translation of the *Arthaśāstra* by Prof. Kangle. The simple reason that it is a translation should not in any way minimise the importance of the work. For people who are not familiar with the lang-



uage of the original text translations carry the same value and serve the same purpose as the originals. This is one of the effective means of spreading knowledge from one part of the country to another part and from one country to another. It is for this reason that our Governments are encouraging translations from one Indian language to another. It is an undeniable fact that much of our present knowledge of our own literature including Vedas and Upanishads we owe to a large extent to translations in English and other foreign languages by our own people and others. If to-day India finds an honoured place in other countries, it is in no small measure due to her literary heritage committed to other foreign languages especially English which our leaders now want to expel from our land in the name of prestige and patriotism. Language—whether it is Sanskrit, Hindi or English—is after all a means of communication and so long as any particular language serves this purpose to the maximum advantage no prejudice against it is justified. In this work the author has furnished copious explanatory foot-notes which help correct understanding of the meaning of the text and has tried to make his translation as accurate as possible. There is no doubt that it will be appreciated not only in this country but also in other countries as well. Of all the languages Indian and foreign, English contains the largest number of books bearing on Sanskrit literature and this will be a valuable addition to it. We congratulate prof. Kangle for his contribution and the University of Bombay for publishing it. We await the release of the third part which is stated to contain a study of this important work by the same author.

—V. Hanumanthachar.



ESSAYS IN SANSKRIT CRITICISM by Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy.

PP. 16 : 325 : Published by the Karnatak University,  
Dharwar. Price Rs. 5/-

This book is a collection of twenty-six essays by Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy bearing on the principles of literary criticism and allied topics on Sanskrit literature. Literary criticism in Sanskrit has developed to such vast proportion as to claim for it the status of a Śāstra. Every writer has set forth his theory with equal justification that it sometimes becomes a problem to judge its soundness. There may be faithful adaptations and literal translations of these works but there are few books which enlighten the logic underlying these theories. The present author by means of critical and comparative review has sorted out and indicated the merits and shortcomings of different schools of literary criticism. He does not flinch to differ where a particular view does not appeal to him. Regarding the question about the locus of *rasa* and whether *rasa* is communicated to the spectator or awakened in him the author differs from even such great writer as Abhinavagupta and says "however great may be the importance of Abhinavagupta's conclusion in the history of Indian aesthetics it is not a sound criterion with which to judge the ancients". He strongly advocates Ānandavardhana's theory of *rasa* and thoroughly examines it in all its aspects. He makes a clear distinction between poetic form and sense and states that it is the latter that should be the criterion in judging the merit of a work. In deciding *rasa* he stresses that the entire work should be taken as a unit and not different sections separately. The concept of suggestion in Sanskrit poetics; The concept of *Rasābhāsa* in Sanskrit Literary Theory; The Doctrine of *Doṣas* in Sanskrit poetics; The Sanskrit conception of a Poet; Indian Definition of Poetry; The Essence of Poetry are among the topics dealt with in this book. Couched in an impressive lang-



uage the essays are all instructive and what the author has said about Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* applies to his own work in which "we see an attempt made for the first time to set forth the theory of poetry assimilating all the essentials found in the various schools and at the same time presenting a new explanation of all the problems." Advanced students of literary criticism in Sanskrit will find this book very useful. The Karnataka University Dharwar has to be congratulated for publishing it.

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KĀDAMBARĪ by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. PP. XVI: 198 Price Rs. 2150.

Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* is a well known prose romance in Sanskrit. It has been abridged and has also been translated into English and other Indian languages. In this book under notice Dr. C. K. Raja has rewritten the story of *Kādambarī* in his own simple chaste English prose. It is free from Bāṇa's lengthy descriptions but maintains throughout the same interest as the original. In his short introduction Dr. C. K. Raja has given an outline of the growth of prose in Sanskrit literature Bāṇa's place in it, a gist of the story of *Kādambarī* and has indicated the political and social condition of India as made out from Bāṇa's work. This book may be read with advantage as a first step to reading the Sanskrit text.

V. Hanumanthachar.



GEMS FROM RĀMĀYAṆA by T. Srinivasa Raghavacharya.  
Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, PP.  
XVI: 108. Price Rs. 2/50.

Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki in which the entire Hindu dharma is centralised contains several verses of high moral value scattered throughout the work. Sri T. Srinivasa Raghavacharya has picked up some such verses and put them together in this work. His translation in English for these verses will be helpful for those who are not acquainted with Sanskrit. The verses are like friendly advice given in times of need and students especially would do well to commit them to memory.

V. Hanumanthacar.

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IMMORTAL WORDS—AN ANTHOLOGY. Published by the  
Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. PP. X: 255. Price  
Rs. 2/50.

This book contains select passages taken from the writings of great writers of all countries and of all times in their quest for the ideals of life. Passages bearing on twenty four different topics are selected and those taken from Sanskrit works are rendered into appropriate English. What strikes one on reading these extracts is the similarity of ideas on different aspects of life irrespective of the difference in space and time of the different writers. "They all point to the fact that truth which is the highest ideal of life is universal and eternal and has no limitations of space and time. It is books of this kind that need to be encouraged especially among students.

V. H.



FACETS OF INDIAN CULTURE by R. Srinivasan. Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. Bombay. PP. XIV: 271. Price Rs. 2/50.

This is a collection of articles written by Prof. R. Srinivasan classified in three parts, the first part pertaining to topics on music the second part to topics on Drama, Dance and allied subjects and the third part to topics of general interest. The varied nature of the articles and the details into which the author probes speak for the extent of the scholarship of the author. The articles on music contain some constructive criticism and useful suggestions which may be noted by the musicians who take part in music performances Kālakṣepam or Harikathā. Kālakṣepam mentioned by the author in the second section on Drama is a moral and ethical discourse based on purāṇic legends. This is a kind of solo-drama; it originated in Mahārāṣṭra, spread to Karnataka and was adopted by Tamilnad and Andhradeśa. Besides aesthetic value these discourses have also great ethical and cultural value which go a long way to bring about national integration, the pressing need of the hour. Sometime back the Hindu Religions Endowments Board, Madras had infact appointed some such lecturers who had to go round the entire state and conduct discourses. The articles are all interesting and although some of the views may not be acceptable to all, as for instance the author's view that *prārabdha-karma* is not irrevocable, they deserve consideration.

V. H.

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RAMANUJA'S TEACHINGS IN HIS OWN WORDS by M. Yamuna-charya. Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. PP. XIV : 160. Price Rs. 2/50.

Next to Śaṅkarācārya, Rāmānujācārya was a great Ācārya who expounded and established a separate system of



philosophy called *Viśiṣṭādvaita*. Sri M. Yāmunāchārya, the author of this work has within a small compass, given a brief sketch of the life of Rāmānujācārya, alluding only to such incidents as would bring about his greatness and an outline of Rāmānujācārya's system of philosophy. He has analysed the whole system into separate sections e.g. Pramāṇas, Nature of Brahman, Nature of the Jīva, Nature of the way i.e. means of realisation and the nature of the Puruṣārtha and has clearly explained them citing relevant passages from Rāmānujācārya's commentaries on the Vedānta-Sūtras and the *Bhagavadgītā*. The author has avoided controversies and refutations of other systems as is usually done by some and has concentrated only on the teachings of Rāmānujācārya. This book will give the reader a basic understanding of the principles of the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* system.

V. H.

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IN QUEST OF GOD by Swami Ramadas : Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. PP. XIV : 168. Price Rs. 2150.

Sri Vittal Rao son of Sri Bala Krishna Rao and Sri-mati Lalita Bai of Hosdrug in North Kerala renounced his family life. Took up Sannyāsa under the name Rāmādāsa, went out on a pilgrimage to all sacred places in India from Rāmeśwaram in the South to Kedāranātha and Badarīnātha in the North and returning home settled down in a cave in Kadri hill. This is narrated in interesting manner in "In quest of God" in simple English. The author Swami Rāmādāsa wants to impress on the readers again and again that all human activities are directed and all incidents in life are pre-ordained by divine will and that the sure way to happiness in this world as well as in the next is complete surrender to divine will whatever may come. Besides



the feeling of devotion to God, about which the author is particular. There is also an under current of humour in his narration which enlivens the reader throughout.

V. H.

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GOD EXPERIENCE by Swami Rāmadāsa. Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Bombay. PP. VIII: 244. Price Rs. 2150.

This book is in the form of a catechism. It contains the replies given by Swami Rāmadāsa to doubts raised by his disciples on spiritual topics of varied nature. Surrounded by materialistic atmosphere people of the present times have almost become blind to real and higher ideals of life and in order to give them *Jñānacakṣu* and make them see what the real ideals are such books are very essential. We congratulate the authorities of Anandashram for bringing out this book.

V. H.

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DR. RANADE'S LIFE OF LIGHT by M. S. Deshpande. Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. PP. XXII: 260. Price Rs. 250.

Dr. Ranade who lived and moved in our midst till just a few years was a great philosopher and a mystic or rather a great mystic first and next a philosopher, his philosophy being the out come of his mystic experiences. In this biography the author Sri M. S. Deshpande has set forth the mystic aspect of Ranade's life more prominently. After completion of his career as a brilliant student and a successful professor in different colleges, Prof. Ranade was finally the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Head of the Philosophy Department in the Allahabad University. The



author has cited letters and alluded to some incidents in Ranade's life as revealed by himself showing his greatness as a mystic. The author has brought the salient features of Ranade's contributions to philosophical thought e.g. *Constructive survey of upaniṣadic philosophy* which drew the attention of M. M. Dr. Ganganatha Jha, *Mysticism in Mahārāṣṭra*, *Bhagavadgītā as a philosophy of God realisation*, etc. It is persons like Prof. Randade who by their example more than by precepts inspire and lead people in the right path and keep up Hindu Dharma. This biography of Ranade is a valuable addition to this class of literature.

V. H.

SANATANA DHARMA by Swami Bharati Krishna Tirtha.

Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. PP.

XX: 210. Price Rs. 2/50.

In this book we find Sanātana-Dharma, the backbone of Hindu Civilisation, defined, expounded and established incontrovertibly as the best system. It is pointed out in this book that while all the ancient civilizations of the world, such as of Greece, Rome, Egypt etc. disappeared long ago, Sanātana-Dharma alone is still continuing in spite of foreign missionaries and reformers. The author is Swami Bharati Krishna Tirtha who was the Head of the Govardhana Maṭha at Puri popularly known as Śaṅkarācārya of Puri. By the fact that he was the head of a religious institution he should not be taken to be a simple bigoted Pandit ignorant of the advancement of knowledge. He was learned in all the Śāstras and was an M. A. in seven subjects i.e. Sanskrit, Philosophy, English, Mathematics, History and Science. Therefore there is enough weight in what he says. The Swami postulates that Sanātana Dharma is of divine origin. Caste system is based on



sound principles and is not a hindrance to political, economic and cultural progress of the people, system of marriages within the same caste is based on sound hygienic principle. Women occupy a respectable place in society according to Sanātana-Dharma; Sanātana-Dharma is not opposed to reason and science and it has no quarrel with other systems whom it considers to be different paths to the same goal and substantiates them by irrebuttable arguments supported not only by Śāstras but also by researches made by eminent scientists. Finally, the Swamiji explains the Advaita Vedānta of Śaṅkara and what it stands for. In short this is a book which every Hindu must read in order to meet the criticisms of foreign critics and self interested reformers.

V. H.

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SWAMI RAMA TIRTHA by S. R. Sarma. Published by Bhāratīya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. PP. XX: 199. Price Rs. 2/50.

This is the life and teachings of Swami Rama Tirtha, who deprived of his mother within a few months after birth, deserted by his father before he attained teens, went through a brilliant student career, was a successful professor of mathematics and finally became a saint of great repute not only in India but also in America and other countries. The author has made use of Swamiji's letters and writings in his note book, which give added credence to his exposition. By recapitulating in this book what Swami Rama Tirtha did and taught fifty years ago, Śrī S. R. Sarma has earned the gratitude of scholars.

V. H.



VEDA<sup>o</sup> PURĀṆAKĀVYA PRTHIVĪ O BHĀRATER ITIHĀSA (in Bengali) by Sri Rāmprasād Mazumdar, M.A. Mun-sirhat, Howrah, West Bengal. PP. 1—10 with two big Chronological charts. Price Rs. 2/-.

“ This is a fresh attempt to arrive at some sensible conclusions regarding the History of the world, and of India in particular, based on Vedic and paurāṇic materials. The author in a nutshell has given here the results of his researches which require elaborate treatment. He has given a more plausible explanation of the Parikṣita Janamējaya problem. We expect more light from the young scholar who seems to be a genuine student of Indian History.

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BHĀṢĀTATTVA MAÑJARĪ—Philology Primer in a new method (in Bengali) by Sri Ram Prasad Mazumdar, M.A. PP. 1—23 Price Re. 1/-.

The tract under review is also a new attempt in the field of Comparative Philology. The author objects to many time honoured theories; for example, he does not subscribe to the view that the Aryan and the Non-Arians form two different races. He has substantiated his conclusions by citing numerous examples from different languages, ancient and modern. He wants to establish the fact that ‘Pratna Vaidik’ or earlier vedic language is the parent stock from which all the *Aryan languages sprang forth*.

—Anantalala Thakur



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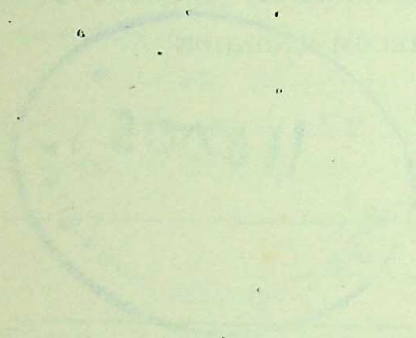
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*All communications should be addressed to—*

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA

DR. UMESHA MISHRA, M.A., D.LITT.

Hon. Secretary, Ganganatha Jha Research  
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